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INTERVENTION IN MEXICO

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SAMUEL GUY INMAN

Foreword by Professor William R. Shepherd



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CONTENTS

	Page
Foreword	vii
I. Various Aspects of the Problem . . .	I
II. Is the Present Disturbance in Mexico a Real Revolution?	43
III. What Kind of a Man Is Carranza? .	80
IV. What Mexicans Think of Americans .	117
V. The Present Situation in Mexico . . .	162
VI. Future Relations between Mexico and the United States	204
Appendix	244

FOREWORD

A professor is sometimes defined as a person who thinks otherwise. Not many years ago an eminent American statesman who was once a professor bade the people of Mexico Godspeed in gaining for and by themselves true political freedom, and pledged himself that, so far as he could prevent it, no one should interfere with them. Has the situation of our southern neighbor changed so materially since then, or are we thinking otherwise?

There was a time in our history when civil war nearly rent the nation asunder. Luckily, we had all of our political troubles that had to be settled by fighting packed into four years. In this respect the only difference between Mexico and ourselves is that the fighting has been spread over most of a century. When the struggle was on in our own case we called it a war and made it conform somewhat to the Sherman definition. So have the Mexicans, only more so.

Happily for us, in our great civil convulsion the foreigners who lost their lives or property because of the destruction that accompanies warfare were few. Unhappily for Mexico, the number of such foreigners is considerable. For European states whose citizens had suffered in our conflict through no fault of their own, indemnity could be secured

by peaceful processes. None of them ever thought of declaring war upon us as a means of gaining redress. For one thing, the United States was strong enough to resist. For another thing, it was and is a country different from Mexico.

(In the world at large, Mexico is recognized as an independent sovereign nation.) Whatever the complaints raised up against it because of the misconduct or misfortune of its rulers and people, the fact remains that it is not a colonial region inhabited by an altogether backward folk in sore need of correction. That may be the popular view taken by the outsider, but it is not the official one. It is quite true, however, that the attitude of our Government toward Mexico during the last eight years of disorder and turmoil would seem to indicate that the country is neither an independent sovereign nation nor yet—on the order of certain of its smaller sisters in and around the Caribbean Sea—a ward of the United States. No, it is some anomalous thing that lies in between.

(Does Mexico belong in the category of a real foreign nation, and is it to be treated as such, or does it in fact come within the "domestic policy" of the United States and hence form part of our Caribbean household?) To interfere or not to interfere, that has been the question—answered usually in the affirmative! Is it to be succeeded by "to intervene or not to intervene?"

Now, if Mexico is an independent sovereign state, it has an absolute right to adopt a constitution whenever it pleases, and to do so in its own way. That its way is not ours does not alter the right in the matter. Even if the new constitution does set aside laws, statutory or constitutional, and replace them by others that may violate privileges of private ownership conferred by such pre-existent laws, even if the procedure under them is held to be confiscatory by the persons and governments adversely affected, the Mexican people, nevertheless, are quite at liberty, should they so choose, and in their own fashion, to incur all the international risks that action of the sort may bring forth; but they can not be denied the right to change their laws as they see fit. War may be made upon them in consequence; they may be conquered and their country may be annexed or converted into a protectorate. In that case they would suffer the fate that many a weak nation has undergone at the hands of a strong one. But if Mexico has lost the quality and distinction of being an independent sovereign nation, or perhaps in reality has never had them, and all along has been subject to the operation of our "domestic policy," "intervention" doubtless is technically more or less of a suitable expression to use, though conquest is what would take place.

And why should we "intervene"? Chiefly because certain vested interests, American and European, do not wish to obey the existing Mexican constitution, which apparently seeks to nationalize the properties concerned. Formerly the holders of those interests paid taxes; now they are asked to pay royalties or rentals. The one means that they were the owners of the property; the other, that the state owns it. Admitting that, if actually carried into effect, a procedure of that kind on the part of the Mexican Government would amount to confiscation, does that justify us in conquering Mexico, with all the expenditure of blood and treasure which war involves?

The cry is raised that hundreds of American and European men, women, and children have been murdered or outraged by Mexicans in a country that is slowly recovering from the disasters of a terrible civil war. Will the loss of thousands of lives of American soldiers atone for them?

With a fine disregard for the plea that Mexico may cherish grievances against the United States on its own account for a variety of acts of interference in recent years, and with no effort to ascertain what the real sentiments of the Mexican leaders and people have been toward the war in Europe, it is asserted that Mexico has been "pro-German," and hence must be punished. Is there not just a possibility that the Mexicans and

their Government have been "pro-Mexican" instead? Is there a faint chance to believe that the present administration of the country is not the choice of its people so much as the will of the Government of the United States?

We shall be told that "intervention" will be a good thing for the Mexicans. They will bless us for it later, just as Cubans, Dominicans, Haitians, Nicaraguans, and Panamanians presumably have done. Perhaps.

Let us not assume that the task, if undertaken, would be an easy one. What we have been doing in the little republics in and around the Caribbean is no criterion for what we would have to do in a huge country like Mexico, among a population seven-eighths of which is Indian and half caste. Let us not imagine, also, that the nature of the work would be free from more than the usual horrors that beset even the most justifiable of wars. "Intervention" in Mexico would be nothing other than the entry of an army of invasion. History tells us what that signifies for both invaded and invader. Worse still, the fighting could not fail to become essentially a conflict of race and color. We know only too well what that means.

Is there no way out? Mr. Inman, who knows Mexicans and yet remains an American, thinks that he has found it. Hear him!

WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.

CHAPTER I

VARIOUS ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM

Mexico is again occupying the front page of the newspapers. England, France, and the United States have organized an international committee of bankers to study the Mexican question; various oil interests have formed the National Association for the Protection of American Rights in Mexico; Congressmen are demanding reports and closer vigilance from the State Department in reference to Mexico; the Council on Foreign Relations appoints a committee of distinguished citizens to hear reports from any one who has ideas on the subject; a capitalist appropriates \$100,000 for assisting a group of university professors to investigate Mexican social and educational matters. These and various other things indicate the interest of the United States, as well as our ignorance on the question.

Newspapers only add to our confusion. Despatches assure us that Villa is about to make a formidable attack on the Texas border and that the Constitutionalists have complete control of the country; that Carranza intends to carry out his promise of an amicable adjustment with the

foreign property owners, and that a decree has been promulgated at Mexico City ordering the instant payment of the royalty taxes on oil; that the "Bolsheviki dominate Mexico," and that Carranza is in league with the I. W. W. to overthrow what order there is; that the Diaz counter-revolt is sure to win and gain possession of the government, and that Zapata and Blanquet are killed.

One is reminded of the confusion of the poor man from China in the siege of Torreon, at the beginning of the Madero Revolution. The insurgents attacked the city, which was held by the Federals. There was in the city a large Chinese colony, which had no idea but that the Diaz forces would be the victors. When the rebels had fought their way into the best part of the city, a Chinese, fleeing for his life, was challenged by a soldier with the regular formula, "*Quién vive?*" "*Viva Diaz,*" he replied. But he was face to face with a Madero soldier, who promptly knocked him down with the butt of his rifle. Getting up again, the poor Chinese was running with all his might, when he was accosted by another soldier with the challenge, "*Quién vive?*" Remembering his former experience, he responded, "*Viva Madero!*" But this was a belated Diaz soldier who hadn't yet abandoned the city, and he promptly gave the poor Celestial an awful blow on the head. The latter

finally picked himself up and was limping along when he was challenged by a third soldier, "*Quién vive?*" But the Celestial was wise by this time and replied, "*Tu digas primero*" (You say first).

This well illustrates the confusion in which most people find themselves in reference to the whole mixed, muddled Mexican question. In endeavoring to contribute something toward clearing up such an involved matter, which has a thousand ramifications that few recognize, I am fully aware that my judgments are fallible. What I hope to do, however, because I have had special opportunities of knowing it, is to present the Mexican side of the question. Most people in the United States look at the whole question, judge every act involved, in the light of its effect on this country. But we shall never understand or help very much to solve the Mexican question until we know what the Mexicans are thinking and doing about it. This is not easy. We are likely to misunderstand Mexico for at least five reasons:

First, *a lack of knowledge of geography and history*. Most of us have no historic background from which to judge Mexico. We take it for granted either that Mexico has had about the same chance to develop as we have and was too lazy to take it, or that "the Mexicans are a bunch of Indians who have never done anything for themselves or anybody else, and never will." Even the judgment of

Americans living in Mexico is often marred by the lack of historical perspective. Many went to the country in the heyday of the Diaz régime, when material prosperity was general, and the life of the foreigner was easy. They did not penetrate below the surface and take cognizance of the abuses to which the Mexicans themselves were subjected. So they did not understand that it would be natural some day for the Mexican to seek to rid himself of political and economic serfdom and to direct his own country; and that when such a movement finally materialized there would be the "devil to pay" for a period of years, just as there has been in all nations where his Satanic Majesty has forced autocracy for centuries. We fail to appreciate the terrible handicaps of inheritance and the combinations of conservatism that have kept Mexico back, in spite of the incessant struggle for liberty on the part of a small minority, who have displayed wonderful brilliancy and the devotion of martyrs.

If the Constitution of 1857 were better known, there would not be nearly so much misunderstanding of the Constitution of 1917, to which it is very similar. If we knew that the progressive part of Mexico is in the north and the conservative toward the south, and that the southern Indian states have very seldom exercised any important influence in the country's political life, we should

know better how to judge the value of news articles, which seek to alarm us by stories of "Indian uprisings" in Campeche and Bolsheviki in Yucatan! Below I quote a statement which succeeded in "getting by" the keen editor of one of our leading magazines, because the author supposedly knew all about Mexico, as he had traveled on mule-back through the Indian states of Yucatan, Campeche, Oaxaca, Vera Cruz, and Morelos, talking to many of the big Indian chiefs! Those who know Mexico can credit such an author with any honesty whatever only by supposing that he had touched none of the big progressive centers of the north, where the new democratic life of the country had been developing for many years. The article from which this statement is taken was translated and published in a Mexico City daily without comment, in order to show on what absolute absurdities the people of the United States were willing to feed:

"Granted fully that Wilson has sought from the start to help Democracy in Mexico, nevertheless it is absolutely true today that his policy has utterly failed; that its sole result has been to continue for yet more years the crucifixion of the country, almost to exhaustion; that he has not won the confidence of the people in the least degree, for all his words on their behalf—for they see only the results; and that Mexico is falling inevitably toward a contest, to intervention. . . Not a

single hope of Woodrow Wilson's has been gratified; and only one or two incidental results: Huerta was driven out and Americans did not have to come back. Mexico is still quite a strenuous and difficult country for Americans—wherever the Carranzistas are; elsewhere it is all right. But if Carranza, Alvarado, etc., have been an obstacle to American business men, to Mexicans they have been fire and sword. It is impossible to exaggerate interior conditions today, or the hatred of the common people for the Carranzistas. The people have security and any degree of happiness only in the mountains and interior districts, where they are protected by their own revolutionary armies of Diaz, Zapata, and others." *World's Work*, March, 1919.

Such a quotation immediately suggests that a second reason why outsiders have difficulty in understanding the Mexican situation is their *ignorance of the internal political currents of Mexico*. This is not to be wondered at. Pity the foreigner who tries to understand United States' politics today, with Wilson, the ideal of the outside world, at home the most criticized man since Lincoln! Just as in this country it is always an open question how much an official's act represents himself, how much the pressure of the constituency, and how much it is an endeavor to secure backing for other policies, so it is in Mexico. The claim of some Constitutionalists that Carranza was not in favor of the most radical parts of the

Queretero Constitution, and accepted them only because he did not think it wise to oppose the radicals too far, was generally denied by those in this country who had only the general opinion that Carranza was an anti-foreign bigot. It puts a different interpretation on the whole question when one hears the following from a New York attorney for American interests in Mexico, who says: "I also have the best of reasons to believe that the Queretero Constitution went farther than Carranza intended: that reason being that I have the text of the Constitution as presented to the Convention by Mr. Carranza, which text contains none of the extreme provisions and is in all a statesmanlike document."

Constitutions remind one of a third difficulty we have in understanding Mexico—the *difference between Anglo-Saxon and Latin psychology*. The secretary of a community club once expressed it in this way: "If a young American comes in to see us about joining the Club, he wants to see the swimming pool, the gymnasium, and the night classes. If a Latin comes for the same purpose, he wants to see our Constitution." With the Latin the theory must be perfect, whatever the practice. A political constitution, to the average Latin-American, is an ideal toward which the country is to work. It is not at all embarrassing to him to know that the ideal is a long way from the real.

Again, certain articles are framed that they may be used when necessary, and only at such times. It is hard for the square-headed, direct Saxon to understand this. During President Diaz's administration, some American missionaries began worrying for fear they were disobeying the reform laws by holding meetings in private homes. They went to the President about it. He asked if they had been molested. They replied in the negative. "Very well, then," he said, "go ahead with your work." If they insisted on a ruling, the strict interpretation of the law would be against them. But why worry, as long as the authorities did not molest them?

In the same way when the Constitution of 1917 was adopted, with still more strenuous laws controlling religious activities, Carranza officials explained to American missionaries that they should do their work as before. "*Es cuestión de administración*" was the explanation, which meant that the provision was there to be invoked at any time when a religious organization began to meddle with political affairs. In fact, the general principles of the Constitution usually become applicable only when Congress passes special laws defining the mode of their operation. There is also frequently found in Latin-America the attitude displayed by one of our own politicians, in the familiar expression, "What is the Constitution among

friends?" But this thing that I am pointing out is not at all a lack of honesty, as the Saxon is likely to judge it, but simply the Latin way of looking at things.

A fourth difficulty that Americans have in judging this subject is—the *impossibility of our separating the Mexican question from our own political and economic life*. If one is Wilsonian, he is pretty sure to favor patience in the matter. If one is Rooseveltian, he condemns the revolution and calls for order to be restored immediately. An editor noted for his broadmindedness, with whom I recently discussed the Mexican question, said to me: "The trouble is that some of us don't trust our President's judgment in foreign affairs, so we can not favor the government he supports." This is manifestly unfair to Mexico. If we Americans believe as a general principle in helping weak and backward nations through their tedious and often bloody struggles toward light and liberty, and are willing to give our all to favor such nations across the sea, then we should be very careful not to allow party prejudices to withhold such help from a neighbor who happens to be so near us that she can not help figuring in our national affairs. It is not right to idealize the Armenian and the Pole, because they are too far away for us to see their frailties, and damn the Mexican because he is too near for us to see his

good points and to sympathize with his pathetic struggle for democracy.

It is doubtful if anything in Mexico itself more complicates the Mexican problem than the fact that that nation, wonderfully rich in natural resources, but backward in ability for self-development, is next door to the most powerful nation on earth. We are particularly interested in Mexico because her stability affects our pocketbooks. The price of meat could be kept from soaring too much if the great cattle ranges of northern Mexico could be scientifically developed. Our manufacturers count on the vast resources of Mexico's mines. Thousands of Americans count on stable economic conditions for their daily bread. And millions of Mexicans are dependent on American capital for their support. Before the Revolution, an official of that country told me there were about 800,000 Mexicans dependent alone on the Guggenheim and allied interests—one out of every twenty of the population. Much has been said concerning the influence on the Revolution of the strong competition between American and British oil interests. President Diaz first sought to develop the physical resources of Mexico by a lavish treatment of American investors. Later on, however, he became somewhat alarmed by their power and sought to offset it by giving privileges for railroad building, oil exploitations, and the

like to British syndicates. This led to the claim, by some, that the Madero-Diaz struggle was simply a struggle between the American and British oil interests. While that was a superficial judgment, since there were fundamental moral and political questions involved, yet that conflict has had no doubt an influence on Mexican politics. Just now all foreign capitalists, at least the oil companies, have united to oppose Carranza in his supposed desire to attack their interests. However right they may be in protesting against the taking away of their profits by the new Government, from the standpoint of the Mexicans the pacification of the country has been deterred by their determined opposition to Carranza, the one leader who shows any ability to stabilize conditions. Carranza's own feeling about the matter has been expressed in a recent interview published in the *San Antonio Express*, as follows:

"The bandits are kept in existence by foreign interests that have a purpose against the establishment of law and order through a stable government. The spasmodic outbursts of these outlaws do not form a military problem, but one created by various interests in the hope of bringing intervention. And it does not imperil the Government.

Inasmuch as foreign interests have been exerting themselves in the interest of this or that candidate, and have been fomenting political unrest in Mexico, when the paramount need for the peaceful

and progressive future of the republic is a stable government that will be allowed unhampered to work out the many and difficult problems of the reconstruction of the country, it is very clear that, for the good of Mexico and the good of the relations between the United States and Mexico, we must avoid any foreign influence already at work in Mexico or outside of Mexico.

We do not want to see in our politics other peoples trying to influence the candidates, for the reason that such meddling is perilous to the friendly relations of the two peoples. We people of Mexico must fight our own political battles without foreign interference.

It is to be regretted that there is so much misunderstanding in the United States regarding Mexico and its problems. It is to be hoped that the press of the United States will see us with clear eyes and open mind, and watch us, but not interfere with us. I do not mean by this that the press is not perfectly entitled to watch the progress of our elections with the same interest as we watch the elections in the United States. Is it not, however, common sense to agree that a people of different blood, racially apart, with many differing characteristics due to tradition and environment, can not advise wisely another people? Can they enter intimately and with full understanding into Mexico's complex questions? No, I submit that Mexicans alone can do this."

How far the ramifications of foreign capital have brought about the last factor that will be mentioned as obscuring our understanding of the Mexi-

can problem, I do not know. But probably the biggest single difficulty in this matter is the fact that *the American people with rare exceptions do not get the truth about conditions in Mexico*. Of course, we expect some sensations or we wouldn't buy the papers. The world owes certain reporters a living, and that accounts for other misrepresentations. Then, the keen agents of the various opponents of the Carranza Government will, once in a while, slip over a story on even the editor who is after only the news that's fit to print. But making allowances for all this, it is hard not to believe, to express it mildly, that there is a determined policy on the part of some of our leading American dailies to paint as dark a picture of chaotic conditions in Mexico as it is possible to do.

Here is only one illustration. Two years ago, when the United States declared war on Germany, I was in Mexico City. From there I went to Havana, where I got my first New York papers and found on the first page, "Mexican Revolt—Report Carranza has been Overthrown—Obregon in Power." On that very day the papers in Mexico City were reporting the details of the war discussions in Washington, and there was absolute calm in the National Palace, where General Carranza was transacting business as serenely as ever. That this was not simply a slip-up is shown by the fact that I have a large pamphlet in which

are printed the letters that were written to this paper, requesting the correction of flagrant misrepresentations of conditions in Mexico, yet not a word of such correction was ever printed. One who will check up the number of rumors printed each week by the American press concerning dire happenings in Mexico, which a short lapse of time proves to be untrue, will be ready to question seriously what influence is directing our press.

Much more could be said concerning the difficulty the American people have in understanding the Mexican situation. In spite of these difficulties, there is a widespread demand in this country that the United States assume the responsibility of settling Mexico's complicated problems. This demand is becoming more and more insistent. Let me cite a few recent quotations from our newspapers and public men concerning this matter.

The *New York Globe* says:

"American intervention in Mexico can not, in the opinion of the best informed people, be long postponed, unless it is determined that American interests and influence in that country shall be entirely sacrificed. (Organized Bolshevism, taking the form of confiscation and distribution of property under color of legal proceedings, is becoming the rule.) Carranza is hostile to American and British interests, and while since the armistice his leaning toward German influence has been discontinued, his attitude toward Americans and English has

not been modified. If anything, it has become more bitter.”¹

The *New York Sun* comments:

“Just one thing emerges as certain, beyond a doubt, and that is that Mexican affairs are in a chaotic state. No one party appears strong enough to gain full control. No one trusts any of the others. It is a condition of things that threatens anarchy. Can we afford to allow it to continue?”¹

Senator Porter says (*New York Sun*, December 30, 1918):

“While the War was in progress it overshadowed all other events to such an extent that the American people are not generally informed of the high-handed proceedings undertaken by the Mexican Government in the name of constitutional revision. But now that the War is over we should turn our attention to Mexico and serve notice upon Carranza that the long line of outrages upon American citizens and their interests must cease. In no circumstances should we sit supinely and permit the confiscation of American property.

Steps should be taken at once to prevent it, and if the Carranza Government persists in its course it will be brought to terms. The time has come for straightening out our relations with Mexico, as has been intimated by European investors. Matters cannot be permitted to drift along as they have been doing. We must insist upon our rights and secure protection for American lives and property.

¹ Quoted in *New York Tribune*, March 23, 1919.

While the American Government might stand passively by during the destruction of physical properties in revolutionary disorders, it can not be passive in the face of deliberate destruction of title to property by governmental act. Physical destruction may be unavoidable, but deliberate annulment of title is a voluntary act of authority which can and must be forestalled."

In a report of a recent dinner of the Council on Foreign Relations, the Vice-President of the Guaranty Trust Company is quoted² as saying:

"Thanks to a careful censorship, little real news has come out of Mexico publicly in the last two years, but from private sources we learn that conditions there have become intolerable. American business institutions with large interests in that territory have recently been compelled to organize, for the purpose of calling this situation to public notice and, if possible, to secure some measure of protection from our Government.

The distressing fact to all those sincerely interested in the welfare of the Mexican people, and who would like to see the Mexican people develop themselves, is that Mexico has not the seed within herself to achieve what manifestly must be accomplished before it can enjoy a free and enlightened government. It must seek assistance outside of itself to lift it out of the chaotic conditions now existing.

The new Mexican Constitution, recently adopted, is Bolshevik in its theory and provisions. It decrees that the holding of property is a social

² *The World Tomorrow*, March, 1919.

function, and provides for the bald confiscation of property rights, as Americans and all civilized governments understand such rights."

The informant of the *New York Times*,³ was positive in his assertion that President would soon deal with the matter in a special message to Congress and that intervention in Mexico would probably be recommended. The statement was added that in dealing with the Mexican situation from this time the United States Government would act not for itself alone, but also for Great Britain and France.

"A canvass of the situation seems to indicate that American intervention in Mexico, not for the purpose of interfering with the sovereign right of Mexicans to govern themselves, but to protect the lives and rights of foreigners in Mexico, and to restore law and order, may be only a matter of months, if not weeks.

The statement was made that when the American Government next intervenes in Mexico there would be no turning back, that the army, navy, and air service would cooperate, and all the machinery of civil government would be taken over, including the courts and custom houses, under a guardianship for the benefit of all foreigners, as well as to end the intolerable situation, which continues despite the repeated protests made by the State Department to the Carranza Government. . . .

For months no other international question in which this country has been interested, not con-

³ *New York Times*, July 10, 1919.

nected directly with the proceedings at Paris, has been so much in the mind of State Department officials and members of the diplomatic corps."

The average North American has had too little contact with the outside world to realize the influence that casual statements made in his own country about international relations have in other nations. I happened to be in Mexico City when some of the statements just cited about chaotic conditions in Mexico were repeated in big red headlines in the Mexico City papers the next morning after their utterance in New York, in order to show that Americans would not stop at the basest falsehoods to misrepresent Mexico. No doubt the statements were made in a kind of careless way by those who thought they should exaggerate a bit in order to emphasize the bad conditions sufficiently. But in Mexico, where people actually are living in conditions entirely different, it appeared as nothing less than damnable lying for a purpose. When some reporter wants a "scoop," or some Congressman wants to please his constituency, or some after-dinner speaker needs to wake up his fellow-diners, Mexico, being a subject in which everyone is interested and about which few know anything, offers a fine field. Such needy gentlemen hardly realize in their innocent provincialism what far-reaching effect their words may have. I saw recently more than

a hundred dray-loads of old American newspapers being carried across the international border to be sold to Mexican merchants for wrapping paper. Quite enterprising, I thought at first. But afterward my mind went to the hundreds of young Mexicans, who, as I know from experience, would get hold of these papers and spell out the headlines, many of which would contain insulting references to Mexico. I was introduced to an audience at a big eastern university the other day, as one capable of speaking on Mexico, since I knew "Carranza and several other bandits."

When one begins to estimate how much of this kind of thing reaches the sensitive Mexican, one can not be surprised that German propagandists found such fallow ground in that country. A Mexican now living in this country, writing to the *New York Globe*, has expressed it as follows:

"Under the title '*The Salvation of Mexico Lies in Annexation to America*', a New York paper publishes an editorial today calling attention to an article written by the correspondent of another New York paper, which purports to tell of terrible conditions in Mexico, and President Carranza's political end.

While you Americans are sending your boys to the trenches to fight for democracy, for the salvation of the small peoples, so that they may have the fullest expression of liberty, as set forth by your noble President, such articles as this reprinted

in my country as expressions of the real and unmasked feeling of the American people toward Mexico would certainly be the best medium and the very ideal material for some unneutral propagandist to bring to the Mexican people's mind that the United States is to be feared and hated.

The editorial pictures the success of the Mexican States taken as a 'prize of war' in 1848, and suggests that similar action is the only solution at the present time to bring peace to the half of Mexico you 'permitted to remain Mexican', forgetting that your American sons are battling across the seas for the principles of 'democracy without annexations, without indemnities'.

Having lived for several years in the United States, I know that the feeling for the conquest of Mexico, as set forth and hoped for by the writer of the editorial in question, does not exist. As a subject of Mexico, I know, too, that the feeling of hatred for the Americans does not exist in my country. But such a publication is quickly seized upon by propagandists hostile to the United States, translated into the Spanish tongue, republished in the newspapers all over Mexico and also in pamphlet form, and read there, unfortunately, as the real expression of the sentiment of the people of the United States. As an anti-climax, these statements were given out in the United States as 'unfriendly propaganda'."

Another serious aspect of this loose talk about Mexican intervention is its effect on all Latin-America. In 1914 I made an extended trip to South America and saw the intense feeling stirred

by our landing troops in Vera Cruz, and I was impressed by the general feeling of antagonism toward the United States. On a later visit in 1917, I was struck by the disappearance of prejudice everywhere and the desire for closer relations with the United States. The reasons for this change seemed to lie in four directions. First, of course, was our entrance into the World War for democracy. Following that in importance were second, the increased commercial relations and third, the exchange of students and professors. But everywhere I was impressed with the new confidence in the United States that had come because, fourth, of our refusing to intervene in Mexico. My experiences corroborated fully the following words of W. L. Saunders, Manager of the Ingersoll-Rand Co., whose world-wide experience in organizing manufacturing enterprises and whose unusual grasp of world trade make him peculiarly capable of speaking on the subject. I quote rather extensively from an article by him in *The Americas*, April, 1916, because it is important that we should understand the matter involved. He says:

"A great deal has been said and written of late about what we should do to get an increased business in Central and South America. Much academic and some practical reasoning has been indulged in by public speakers and magazine writers, societies have been formed, advertising

has been resorted to and sundry steps taken to sell American products in the countries to the south of us. Little has been said or written about what seems to be the first and most important step—one far-reaching in its influences. I refer to the act of the present Administration in cultivating the good opinion of Latin-Americans through our Mexican policy.

It is well known among those familiar with Central and South American conditions that the United States has been looked upon with jealous suspicion. We are so large and so powerful that they have feared our domination. No matter what state authorities may have said in public documents it has remained true that up to a recent date a large majority of intelligent Latin-American people have felt that the people of the United States, with a singleness of purpose in chasing the mighty dollar, were anxious so to encircle the little countries to the south of us that we might use their resources to fatten our purses. They have looked upon us as eminently a practical people and in that respect as differing from the old Castilian idea of chivalry and honor. We know that they are mistaken in this, and that the ethical code of the American business man is equal to that of any other in the world, but our visits to Latin-America and our public statements have had little effect. When we took Cuba they were certain that we expected to retain and milk it, and when we gave it back to the Cuban people they were surprised and mystified. When we took Panama and declined to pay for it they turned to each other and nodding their heads said: 'Ah!

I told you so. This is the true policy of the United States. Let us take care that our independence is preserved against them'.

When one people fear and dislike another it is difficult for them to cultivate either business or social relations. Latin-American countries were always glad to get United States money for investment in their country, but other things being equal they preferred foreign capital. American investors showed no great anxiety to go into countries where the people were more or less hostile, so that except in mines and a few other special enterprises no investments on a large scale were practiced. About three years ago the policy of the United States in regard to Mexico began to attract the attention of our neighbors. They have been watchfully waiting, expecting us to take advantage of Mexican weakness and helplessness to draw the country under control. That we have not done this has puzzled them, and they are now beginning to look at us in a new light—a condition which promises to do more than anything else for the industrial prosperity and peace of all the Americas. During the recent Pan-American Scientific Congress held in Washington I spent one week as a delegate, reading a paper on a scientific subject, and mixing with the people. My chief aim was to find out what they really thought about us, and in expressing the sentiment of Señor Francisco Peynado of the Dominican Republic I believe that I am giving the true feeling of most of the delegates from these countries. Señor Peynado is a man of great intelligence, an eminent international lawyer, commended as such by John

Bassett Moore. He said to me that there never had been a time when the feeling of Latin-American people toward the United States was so cordial as at present and that this was due mainly to our policy in regard to Mexico. He said that they knew that we had Mexico in our power, that it was directly in line with what was generally supposed to be our ambition: namely, to get control of all states as far at least as the Panama Canal. They knew that we would have no difficulty in taking Mexico if we wanted to, and at first they thought we had some motive in postponing the day, but after three years they were becoming convinced that the United States really did not seek Latin-American territory; that we were friends and not enemies; that our cooperation with them in an effort to settle Mexican affairs showed a spirit which they had no idea that we possessed—one which if continued and established would go further than anything else to unite all the Americas. Words and promises could not be expected to go as far as actual deeds in a matter of such importance. That what we had done, and what we had left undone, was beginning to take root, and that it was likely to result in a fruitful harvest.

What can be more important than this? It makes for prosperity during peace and for mutual protection and strength against invasion. Any other course in regard to Mexico than that which has been followed might have resulted in either retaining or intensifying the old feeling of suspicion among our neighbors. Posterity alone will prove either that the policy of the Administration toward

Mexico has been one of 'weakness' or of far-reaching wisdom and importance."

Professor W. R. Shepherd of Columbia University, after pointing out three courses of action for the United States in dealing with Mexico, the appointment of an international commission to find out the facts, the exercising of financial pressure, and intervention, says:

"But if armed intervention and the setting up of an American protectorate be the action chosen, the United States, in my judgment, will forfeit the friendship of every country in Latin-America."

There is another result of intervention talk which comes closer home to us and that is the divisive effect it has on our own people, at a time when we shall need every bit of the wisdom and unity we can possibly summon to solve our own problems. The following quotations may be as exaggerated as those quoted in favor of intervention. But there is no doubt that they represent the opinion of a very large number of people in this country, some of whom would sooner fight the interventionists than fight Mexico.

The *New York Call*, (March 21, 1918), says:

"Perhaps the most efficient machine capitalists ever constructed is that described by a correspondent of the *World* from Mexico City. Its object is 'a deliberate, widespread, and more or less well-

organized campaign' to 'force American intervention in Mexico'. There is one obstacle in the way of this, but it may be overcome with proper 'efficiency' work. This is the fact that the great masses of the people here do not care two hoots in hades for the dollars invested in Mexico. . . . Speakers have been hired to speak at conferences, congresses, and forums. Headquarters have been secured at Washington, and for a time a 'grapevine' connection was maintained with a certain bureau at the United States Government. 'News' about Mexico and the Mexicans is supplied to journals in all parts of the country from time to time. Attacks on President Carranza are inspired in the newspapers, and occasional 'atrocities' are featured which occur only in the consciousness of the press agent. The next Congress has a scent of petroleum about it, and this is regarded as the last item in this efficiency campaign. After it is organized, orders will be given and a pretext will be found for waging war upon Mexicans. . . .

In other words, the capitalists and financiers interested in this thing do not hesitate to kill thousands of Mexicans and have thousands of Americans killed for the sake of American dollars invested in Mexico. Every detail of this dirty enterprise has been planned and organized, according to this story, with the care for detail that is taken in organizing a corporation. The coming months will witness a progressive development of propaganda along these lines, and many of us may be given the glorious privilege of dying for the greater glory of American investors."

The World Tomorrow, representing another class of people, says: (Editorial of March, 1919, number)

"The time to stop a war is before it begins. Our war with Germany is over. . . . For a while at least most of humanity has ceased its ghastly self-slaughter, and men's hearts and minds are filled with hopes and plans for a better and an ordered world. We have entered upon a breathing space during which, if public opinion will but steady itself, inform itself, and concern itself with realities instead of with chimeras, we may actually stop the next war before it begins. The next war! How can there be a next war? We have just won the war that was to end war. The Kaiser languishes in exile. Prussian militarism is overthrown. Who, then, must we fight and what are we to fight about? With a full realization of the seriousness of what we are saying, our blunt answer to the first question is, Mexico, and to the second, American investments.

What are the grounds upon which we base these assertions? The facts are not far to seek. Even our Military Intelligence Department could hardly fail to discover them. Let us marshal here a few of the most revealing facts for our readers' own interpretation and judgment."

We have gone a long way in many matters concerning international relations during the last four years. Does the old doctrine of intervention, as our fathers interpreted it, still stand? Perhaps we had better not say, "as our fathers interpreted

it," for our own fathers would not stand for it a minute, when England and Germany during our Civil War intimated that, in the name of humanity and for the protection of their property and citizens, they should put a stop to a bloody fratricidal war that was dragging out through the years. We have just confiscated foreign property by the millions by passing the Prohibition Amendment, yet no one would think that that gave a foreign government the right to intervene in our affairs. But would that be true if we were the size of Costa Rica? The constitutional President of that country is an outlaw today, and a revolutionary government rules, because certain American interests did not like his land tax and his refusal to be bribed for certain concessions.

Has the World War, our fight for the rights of self-determination for weak and small nations, changed in any way the old doctrine of intervention by a strong nation in the affairs of a weak nation? It is a question on which every fair-minded man will ponder.

The opinion of President Carranza on the matter of intervention is given in a clear statement made by Sr. Antonio Manero, who, as the official representative of the Mexican President, made a trip through Latin-America recently, giving lectures, which are published in a volume called

México y la Solidaridad Americana—La Doctrina Carranza. Sr. Manero says:

"Nearly all laws, national as well as international, in Latin-America have a common origin—the effort of the stronger nations to exercise control over the weaker ones' affairs in defense of the interests of their nationals, who are either immigrants or investors. The problem of Latin-America and, in large part, that of the United States, consists in finding out how it can give entrance to all foreign activities and capital without placing in danger the peace and stability of the nation and without losing its national characteristics. It is a rare country that today does not insist that foreigners shall be subject to the laws of the country in respect to their property and civil state. There have been discussions concerning this in various international congresses, suggesting that the foreigner be subject to all the laws of the country in which he lives; but in reality such a doctrine has not had a constitutional basis until it was recently expressed in the new Mexican Constitution. In 1915, when the international questions between Mexico and the United States were about to be solved, Carranza said: 'Our struggle will be the beginning of a universal struggle which will mark the entrance into an era of justice with the establishment of the principles of respect which great nations should have for small nations. All the exclusive claims and privileges ought to be abandoned little by little. The individual who goes from one nation to another ought to subject himself to the consequences of his own

condition and not to have more guarantees or more rights than the natives of that country have. True justice will reign on the earth when every citizen, in whatever part of the planet he is, finds himself within his own nationality'."

Before we ever considered a League of Nations, the Calvo Doctrine and the Drago Doctrine, named for their authors, two distinguished South Americans, had received favorable consideration by international jurists.

The Drago Doctrine, which may be said to be supplementary to the Monroe Doctrine, was formulated, as is well known, as the result of the coercive action taken against Venezuela in 1902 by a number of European powers. The cardinal principle of the doctrine is that public debts give no right to armed intervention or to a material occupation of American territory by a European power. As Oliveira Lima says, in his book on Pan-Americanism, proof that this doctrine or policy was welcomed by the world's authorities on international law and recognized by them as a principle of effective and real value in the life of the continent, as well as that of the world in general, is to be found in the fact that the theories formulated by Dr. Drago were accepted, with very slight modifications, by the International Peace Conference at the Hague.

The Calvo Doctrine, called after its author, is referred to by John Bassett Moore as a most important development of international law. This doctrine denies the responsibility of governments for losses and injuries experienced by foreigners in times of internal disturbances or of civil war.

Has the League of Nations helped at all to clear up this matter of our intervention in the small states to the South?

Latin-Americans were very much in hope that the League would solve the problems of the relations between them and the United States. At first there was practical unanimity in favor of the League in every one of the southern republics. It seemed to offer a way out of the embarrassing contradiction—as it seemed at least to many of them—between Pan-Americanism and the Monroe Doctrine. Now Latin-America has no objection to the Monroe Doctrine if it means simply that Europe is not to meddle in American affairs. But they fear that it means, as they can amply demonstrate by extended quotations from North Americans that it does, that the United States retains to itself the right of controlling this continent.

As President Lowell says:⁴

“According to that view Central and South America are a game preserve, from which poachers

⁴ World Peace Foundation, “League of Nations Series,” Vol. II. No. 2.

are excluded, but where the proprietor may hunt as he pleases. Naturally the proprietor is anxious not only to keep away the poachers but to oppose game laws that would interfere with his own sport. With their professed principles about protecting the integrity and independence of small countries, the nations that have drawn up the Covenant of Paris can hardly consent to a claim of this kind. Nor ought we to demand it. A suspicion that this is the real meaning of the Monroe Doctrine is the specter that has prevented the great South American states from accepting the doctrine. It has been the chief obstacle to mutual confidence and cordial relations with them, and the sooner it is definitely rejected the better.

Some Americans, while professing a faith in the right of all peoples to independence and self-government, are really imperialists at heart. They believe in the right and manifest destiny of the United States to expand by overrunning its weaker neighbors. They appeal to a spirit of patriotism that sees no object, holds no ideals, and acknowledges no rights or duties, but the national welfare and aggrandizement. In the name of that principle Germany sinned and fell. The ideas of these American imperialists are less grandiose, but at bottom they differ little from hers. It would be a calamity if we should have helped to overcome Germany only to be conquered by her theories and her errors."

The insistence of the United States that the League of Nations recognize the Monroe Doctrine, will, in my judgment, lose us the opportunity of

proving to Latin-America that that Doctrine means now only what it did originally, the exclusion of Europe from America, with the understanding which John Quincy Adams, the probable author, put upon it:

“Consider the South American nations as independent; they themselves and no other nation have the right to determine their own conditions. We have no right to dispose of them, neither alone nor in combination with others. Nor has any other nation any right to dispose of them without their own consent.”

The other day when Mexico was reported as saying she did not accept the Monroe Doctrine, the comment often heard in this country was, “She has nothing to do with the Monroe Doctrine. It is impertinent for her to say anything about a purely American doctrine.” True, if it is interpreted in one way; but she, and Chile, and Colombia, and Nicaragua, and other countries and countless individual Latin-Americans believe—and we must not forget that they sustain this contention by quotations from our own authorities—that it means not “America for the Americans” but “America for the North Americans,” giving the United States the privilege of dictating the policies of all other American countries. With this interpretation, Mexico has as much right to be interested in the Doctrine as I have in my

neighbor's doctrine that my property is for his service.

There will no doubt be a pretty universal disappointment among Latin-Americans because of the adoption of the Monroe Doctrine amendment to the League Covenant. This might have been mitigated if a declaration had been made that would have excluded the sinister interpretation referred to.

The necessity of doing something to clear up the meaning of the Doctrine has been recognized by President Wilson for some time. In an address to the Pan-American Scientific Congress in Washington, January 6, 1916, he said:

"The Monroe Doctrine was proclaimed by the United States on her own authority. It has always been maintained, and always will be maintained, upon her own responsibility. But the Monroe Doctrine demanded merely that European governments should not attempt to extend their political systems to this side of the Atlantic. It did not disclose the use which the United States intended to make of her power on this side of the Atlantic. It was a hand held up in warning, but there was no promise in it of what America was going to do with the implied and partial protectorate which she apparently was trying to set up on this side of the water, and I believe you will sustain me in the statement that it has been fears and suspicions on this score which have hitherto prevented the greater intimacy and confidence and

trust between the Americas. The states of America have not been certain what the United States would do with her power. That doubt must be removed. And latterly there has been a very frank interchange of views between the authorities in Washington and those who represented the other states of this hemisphere, an interchange of views charming and hopeful, because based upon an increasingly sure appreciation of the spirit in which they were undertaken. These gentlemen have seen that, if America is to come into her own, into her legitimate own, in a world of peace and order, she must establish the foundations of amity, so that no one will hereafter doubt them."

The following words spoken to the Mexican editors at the White House, June 7, 1918, give us a yet clearer idea of the President's thought in the matter:

"Gentlemen, I have never received a group of men who were more welcome than you are, because it has been one of my distresses during the period of my Presidency that the Mexican people did not more thoroughly understand the attitude of the United States toward Mexico. I think I can assure you, and I hope you have had every evidence of the truth of my assurance, that that attitude is one of sincere friendship. And not merely the sort of friendship which prompts one not to do his neighbor any harm, but the sort of friendship which earnestly desires to do his neighbor service. . . .

Some of us, if I may say so privately, look back with regret upon some of the more ancient relations that we have had with Mexico long before our generation; and America, if I may so express it, would now feel ashamed to take advantage of a neighbor. So I hope that you can carry back to your homes something better than the assurances of words. You have had contact with our people. You know your own personal reception. You know how gladly we have opened to you the doors of every establishment that you wanted to see and have shown you just what we were doing, and I hope you have gained the right impression as to why we were doing it. We are doing it, gentlemen, so that the world may never hereafter have to fear the only thing that any nation has to dread, the unjust and selfish aggression of another nation. Some time ago, as you probably all know, I proposed a sort of Pan-American agreement. I had perceived that one of the difficulties of our relationship with Latin-America was this: The famous Monroe Doctrine was adopted without your consent, without the consent of any of the Central or South American states.

If I may express it in the terms that we so often use in this country, we said, 'We are going to be your big brother, whether you want us to be or not'. We did not ask whether it was agreeable to you that we should be your big brother. We said we were going to be. Now, that was all very well so far as protecting you from aggression from the other side of the water was concerned, but there was nothing in it that protected you from aggression from us, and I have repeatedly seen the uneasy

feeling on the part of representatives of the states of Central and South America that our self-appointed protection might be for our own benefit and our own interests and not for the interest of our neighbors. So I said, 'Very well, let us make an arrangement by which we will give bond. Let us have a common guarantee, that all of us will sign, of political independence and territorial integrity. Let us agree that if any one of us, the United States included, violates the political independence or the territorial integrity of any of the others, all the others will jump on her'. I pointed out to some of the gentlemen who were less inclined to enter into this arrangement than others that that was in effect giving bonds on the part of the United States, that we would enter into an arrangement by which you would be protected by us. . . .

Peace can come only by trust. As long as there is suspicion there is going to be misunderstanding, and as long as there is misunderstanding there is going to be trouble. If you can once get a situation of trust, then you have got a situation of permanent peace. Therefore, every one of us, it seems to me, owes it as a patriotic duty to his own country to plant the seeds of trust and of confidence instead of the seeds of suspicion and variety of interest."

It is devoutly to be hoped that the President, who is the prime mover in the establishment of the League of Nations, has in mind some plan along the line suggested to the editors that can be put into operation very soon, in order to counteract

the unfortunate interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine again made prominent by the insistence of the United States that special mention of the Doctrine should be made in the League Covenant. This should be done quickly. There has been shown in the last few months in Mexico a more general desire for friendship with the United States than I have ever known before. It is the most encouraging thing I found in my last trip to the Republic, and should be quickly turned to advantage. It is well summarized in the following article translated from *El Universal*, one of the leading dailies of Mexico City:

“The United States and Mexico have passed through large and painful difficulties, largely on account of the internal situation in the last-named nation. The United States has not been able to appreciate sufficiently the Mexican crisis, not attributing it to causes of a general order, to a just desire of the people to recover their liberty, but to a supposed desire of ambitious persons, to foreign intrigues, to a disorderly spirit. It is the same old question. Although separated by short distances, Saxon-America and Latin-America understand each other with great difficulty, because of the influence of their two distinct psychologies. It is sad to affirm, but it is strictly true, that when a North American statesman or functionary speaks of public questions in the Latin-American republics he assumes an astute attitude, and when the leaders of the states of the south speak of the

United States they take upon themselves an expression of jealousy. Mexico and the United States are found in this situation in the most critical form. History justifies this condition, but in this moment it is necessary to change, to take a new road toward harmony. Statesmen can not be poets, living eternally in paradise, or in the remembrance of the beautiful old days. Governors must think of the future and of the happiness of the people whom they govern. The moment for a solution of this question is now, when the United States has placed itself at the head of the humanitarian movement to create the society of nations, when the North American spirit denies itself all idea of conquest and fixes the principle that public and private morality ought to be ruled by the same laws, when Wilson goes to Europe, breaking every precedent of American politics followed from the time of Washington, in order to preach there the ideas of social justice applied to international law, which until today seemed a subject not to be submitted to laws of order and right.

Between the United States and Mexico there are two great problems—one of frontiers, and the other of a civil order referring to foreign fortunes invested in Mexico. The first has been settled up to the present time with good judgment on the part of both. Much more difficult do we find the second, which refers to the foreign interests in Mexico. A foreign government can not pretend that its citizens should have better treatment than the natives, nor that they should not pay proportionately their part of the taxes, nor that they should not obey the law. On the other hand, a

national government can not refuse proper protection to the lives and the interests of other nations, much less can it violate those interests by unjust and confiscatory laws. Evidently these general principles encounter great difficulties in practice, but if those governing the two countries are men who understand these precepts and desire to practice them, such difficulties will be reduced to a very small minimum.

The good faith, the honor of governments will solve problems which legal formulas can not solve and never will be able to solve. If in Mexico and in the United States there are reciprocal prejudices, it will be difficult to solve the problems arising from their close proximity; but if, on the contrary, there is established a current of sympathy, all will be easy, even the gravest problem. The actual situation, full of resentment and jealousies, practically all of which are unjustified, is irrational. The United States and Mexico will do well to convince each other that, on the one hand, the Mexicans are a people worthy of modern civilization, and, on the other hand, that the United States does not care to conquer territory in Mexico. When the one has understood the first, and the other the second, they will both live in better understanding, the United States being satisfied to have so close to it one of the richest nations in the world, and the Mexicans content to receive the influence of the most progressive and just of all nations."

In this chapter I have tried simply to open up the whole question of our relations to a sick and

suffering neighbor. I recognize fully that the problem is a complicated one. I do not claim that my judgments are altogether correct, but I want to help my fellow-Americans to understand something of the way the Mexicans feel about it.

Our understanding of the problem is complicated, I repeat, by our lack of knowledge of the history and geography of Mexico and of her internal political currents, by the difference between Anglo-Saxon and Latin psychology, by the difficulty of separating the question from our own political and economic life, and by the false reports which we get through the press.

Notwithstanding all these difficulties in understanding the subject, there is yet a wide demand that we undertake the settling of these questions by a military occupation of the country. This talk about intervention causes serious difficulties in Mexico, in all Latin-America, and in the United States. Since we are just emerging from a world war, fought for the rights of small nations, the question arises as to whether in the new day we shall still follow the old doctrine of intervention to protect property. Latin-Americans believe that foreigners should have the same protection as nationals, but no more. The help the League of Nations promised to give will probably be limited somewhat by the introduction of the Monroe Doctrine clause, which will be inclined to restore

the old suspicions Latin-Americans had of the United States. President Wilson has told the Mexicans that he desires that all American nations shall have the same rights and privileges, and a Mexican editor, expressing feeling general among his people, desires a settlement of differences between the two countries and a mutual friendship and respect.

We will consider more fully in the last chapter some of the ways in which the United States might help Mexico to solve her problems. At this stage in our discussion let us simply make our own the words inscribed on the walls of the building of the Pan-American Union in Washington: "God has made us neighbors. Let justice make us friends."

CHAPTER II

IS THE PRESENT DISTURBANCE IN MEXICO A REAL REVOLUTION?

I saw a cartoon the other day that represented beautiful Miss Liberty giving a lecture to a desperado, who, as he flourished a revolver, seemed to be trying to make out who the young lady was. On the brim of his large sombrero was written "Mexico," and he was saying "No Comprendo." The disturbed conditions south of the Rio Grande are proving only too clearly that indeed he does not understand. The deep truths of democracy are yet beyond his ken. He has not learned how to accept defeat with grace, to discuss issues without personalities, to confide in his fellowman, to unite factions for the common good. He has not learned to go two miles with the man who compels him to go one; that the man who hears and *does* is the man whose house stands; that before the tower is built one must sit down and count the cost; that he who puts his hand to the plough must not look back; that only he who loses his life shall find it again.

All this we must candidly admit. But whose fault is it that he does not know these things?

His own? (The Mexican learns when he has a chance. But collectively he has never had a chance.) His "No Comprendo," far from being the flippant response of a don't-care, the subject for the funny column of a newspaper, is really the wail of a neglected soul, rent with grief and passion, who finds no one to explain to him the deep mysteries of life.

In the first place, the Mexicans are a dislocated people. When Spain established herself in the country the (respective tribes occupied a definite place in social evolution.) They had a well organized religion, agricultural system, and government. These three indispensable items of normal development were (wholly disrupted by the Spaniards, who endeavored by force of arms to substitute in their place an exotic feudalism.) The Indians were left without any incentive to conform to the new system, and kept from any sort of knowledge or freedom to acquire any sense of their new social environment. (And up to this day this confusion of social organization exists and opposes progress.)

(In the second place, the Mexicans are an exploited people. The land baron and the priest have continued their unholy alliance from the days of the Conquistadores till the present, playing alternately the one into the hands of the other, to keep the people in ignorance, superstition, and debt, so that the exploitation, both by *padre*

and *amo*, would be sure and easy. Foreign capitalists, with their immense concessions, have usually been willing to join the system of exploitation. And the unestimated resources of the country, along with its people, have been made to pay tribute down through the years to these privileged classes. And yet we seem to be astounded at the "horrible atrocities, disgraceful to all civilization," witnessed today in Mexico, and cry out in the name of humanity for them to be stopped. It would seem, rather, that we ought to rejoice that the people have finally gathered strength enough to protest against their wrongs. Historically, the Mexicans are a hard-working, land-loving, peaceable people.

"Current impression that they are given to revolt as sparks fly upward fails to realize what a large part hunger, homelessness, low wages, and lack of confidence play in men's willingness or unwillingness to fight. Personally, those to whom the republic is dear fear that they will stop fighting too soon—as soon as they are eased of their intolerable discomfort. When General Blanco, after the earlier victories, began parceling out the land, most of those who were fortunate to get a piece of it resigned from the army. Prosperity never made any people warlike. It only makes it possible, when they do fight, to go on fighting longer. But when any people has actually more to hope for from war—more things to eat, more to look forward to and live for—then revolution

may become a habit. For a long time Mexico has been in that condition. Her short, sporadic revolts are simply the index of the desperation of the people and the short shift of their supplies. Because they are fighting for relief they snatch up any leader that comes handy, Zapata, Madero, Villa, just as the French peasants caught up bill-hooks and scythes when no better weapons were to be had."

In the third place, the Mexicans, as a backward race, are suffering from being brought into forcible contact with more advanced peoples. The Spaniards, advanced in the arts of war, with a few hundred men and horses and guns, so astounded the Aztecs that they were utterly confused and a few Spaniards were able to conquer and rule millions of Indians. The aborigines were at such a disadvantage that they made no endeavor to resist their powerful masters, but lived in practical serfdom. After three hundred years they were again brought into violent contact with another more advanced group, the Creole leaders, who, struggling for political supremacy against one another, compelled the poor people to fight "for liberty" so-called. But the only result was that again the peon suffered the shock of violent contact with a superior force, with all its evils, but with no one to teach him any of the real significance of the continuous struggle between centralists and federalists, clericals and liberals, and the

hundred other factions which compelled him ignorantly to fight for them from the time of Hidalgo down to Diaz.

When these political struggles finally left the Mexican in peace under Diaz, then, still in his ignorance of past centuries, he was put into violent contact with what is probably the most baffling of all superior forces—modern capital. Just as the Spaniard told him he would be improved by his new contacts and made over by superior gods, and the *caudillo* insisted that the new doctrine of rights and liberties would give him the longed-for haven, so the modern capitalist comes to promise him a complete salvation. But neither his religious, his political, nor his economic saviour has ever stopped to teach him anything of the principles involved in the new advanced life into which he is forcibly injected.

So the Mexican has had no man to guide him. Education and self-expression have been denied him for four hundred years since the white man first set foot upon his soil. Let us take a rapid glance at these years. The names of four men—Cortez, Hidalgo, Juarez, Diaz—with the gaps filled in by political oppression and revolution on the one hand, and the constant intrigues of the priests to keep the people in ignorance on the other—these make up Mexico's history. Cortez, who conquered the aborigines in 1520, was one

of the most astute and unprincipled adventurers the world has ever known. Accompanying him were a band of priests. The natives were compelled to bow to the Spanish king and the pope at the same time. "Christianity, instead of fulfilling its mission of converting and sanctifying, was itself converted. Paganism was baptized. Christianity was paganized." The people lived in practical slavery for three hundred years. On September 16, 1810, Miguel Hidalgo raised the cry of revolt against this terrible oppression. But his love of liberty was not accompanied by a genius for leadership, and soon he and his fellow-leaders were captured and shot. Then followed a continuous revolution for fifty years, in which Mexico's independence from Spain was gained only to be lost in strife between her own unprincipled leaders.

Out of this carnage of blood and disorder appeared one of the greatest men ever produced by the Americas. Benito Juarez laid the ax at the very root of the tree. He saw that his country could never have political liberty until it had religious liberty. He confiscated large amounts of church property, separated completely church and state, repelled the French invasion, and was about to establish a series of reforms and an educational system for which the people had waited all these centuries, when he was suddenly

cut off by death. Fresh struggles for the presidential chair finally resulted in its occupancy by Porfirio Diaz, who retained it from 1876 till 1911, with the exception of four years. His strong hand forced peace and brought about marvelous material progress. But free speech was still repressed, and while a few more people learned to read, they must still reply in large measure to the ancient question, "Understandest thou what thou readest?" with the wail, "How can I, except some one shall guide me?"

Is it any wonder, when the country was so suddenly changed from a despotism to a democracy by the Madero revolution, that it has been impossible to keep down disturbances? The change was needed, but it was too sudden. A period of trial and stress must be passed through. History emphasizes this to us repeatedly. Think of the long, dark days of the reconstruction period after our own Civil War. Yet we began learning our lessons in democracy in 1215, when King John granted the Magna Charta.

If there were ever a time when we should be able to see the dangers of pharisaical condemnation of Mexico for her disorder, it is now. We have just fought a war for making the world safe for democracy, and won. Yet the world in all its history has never known such a chaotic condition as exists today in practically every part

of the globe. Mexico is far quieter today, life is safer, food is more plentiful, business is more sound, the government more secure than in Russia, Austria, Hungary, Germany, Turkey, the Balkans, Syria, Korea, and other disturbed parts of the world. China began her revolution against the Manchu dynasty at about the same time Mexico began hers against Diaz, and took about the same time to overthrow the reactionary government. Her revolution has continued between the northern and southern sections, just as Mexico's has, but, instead of quieting down as in Mexico, the struggle today is worse than ever. As with Mexico, her next-door neighbor has wanted to intervene. But the United States has continually opposed such action, insisting that the territorial integrity and sovereignty of China, with her right to work out her own problems, must be maintained.

The present upset condition of the world should help us to recall what periods of reconstruction have always been. What sovereign country today has not had a period of civil war and reconstruction, during which foreigners have suffered, along with nationals, the destruction of millions of dollars of property and hundreds of lives? Yet when fundamental wrongs existed, that stood squarely in the way of progress and could be removed only by war, then war it was, and

foreigners had to be crucified with citizens, and all go down into hades that the resurrection of the nation might come.

The United States arrived at a time when it could not exist half free, half slave. This country was not only on a false economic basis, but on a false moral basis. Slavery gave the lie to our constitution, as slave labor gave the death blow to competitive free labor. All our great resources have been developed, our big business created, our moral leadership in the world gained, since the slavery question was settled. The capital lost in that struggle, both by foreigners and nationals, has been regained a thousand fold, and the country has been put on a basis of permanent peace which guarantees continuous progress. But this could not be seen for a long time. Following Sherman's march to the sea, and a hundred other military expeditions that crushed the life out of the South and subjected innocent women and children and foreigners to unmentionable horrors, there came the terrible years of reconstruction. Liberated Negro slaves, led by white politicians, over-ran entire communities. Churches and schools were destroyed, and social life of all kinds was disrupted. Plunder, robbery, and rape were common. These conditions lasted for years in many communities. Gangs of train robbers

like the James boys terrorized the unsettled West for more than a decade.

A half century after our own experience, Mexico is repeating it. At least she has begun it, but things move more slowly there, and we may well expect it to require a good deal more time. By the brilliant light of the twentieth century, Mexico was revealed to herself as holding on to an old feudal system. Outside of a few hundred thousand privileged classes and the three to five million pure Indians, the whole population was in economic and practically legal slavery. Her political constitution was made a lie. Both her false economic foundation and her moral basis had to be changed. The issues involved have not always been clear-cut, as they were in our struggle. The individualistic Latin naturally follows leaders rather than parties. Furthermore, the original issue both of slavery and of constitution was immeasurably more complicated with the Mexican. But there have persisted pretty clearly all through the struggle these two ideals—economic freedom and enforcement of the constitution. Each of these two principles has generally been expressed in a twofold way, with the following four points most often mentioned as the principles for which the revolution was contending:

1. Breaking up of great landed estates for benefit of common people.

2. Readjustment of taxes.
3. Right of suffrage.
4. Elimination of the political power of the church.

Both the economic and the moral principle in a broad way have now been won. No more peons are held for debt, nor do they work for *dos reales diarios* (two reales a day). The constitution is at least observed in that there are free elections in the greater part of Mexican territory. Mexico is now in the period of reconstruction. Villa is proving as difficult for the Mexican Government to catch as the James boys were for us. Raids on ranches and out-of-the-way towns and attacks on trains are almost as frequent as they were in our western towns in the '70's and '80's. But Zapata is gone. Blanquet is dead. Felix Diaz counts only in the minds of a few press agents. Carranza controls all state capitals at the time that this is written, as well as every town of over 5,000 people in the Republic.

But our interest is not so much in Carranza or any other individual, providing we can feel that there has been a real social revolution in Mexico, and that the country is on an upgrade to a democratic life. Even if that road does seem a long, hard one, requiring many years to climb, the people of the outside world would be willing to stand firm against the interventionists, if it

could be shown that Mexico had not forfeited her sovereign right to settle her own affairs in the way most likely to bring permanent results. International law has always allowed civil war without interference, unless it is waged with unrestrained irresponsibility, and without any seeming fundamental principles at issue. As Professor Wells, of Clark College, says:

"Mexico undeniably presents the basic conditions without which a struggle should not be viewed as a true civil war, namely, the existence of issues which are of vital concern to the people; and the abuses which give rise to them have been so tyrannical as to justify a revolution in the government, and, if necessary to that end, a violent purging of the nation.) The revolt on these issues is under the guidance of leaders, civil and military, representing nearly all grades of society and many walks of life. They include men of character, who typify the most substantial products of Mexican civilization."¹

Let us look at a few of the changes that have been wrought already by the Revolution. They may be seen in politics, in economic and social conditions, and in educational matters.

The *jefe politico* was one of the most despicable individuals in the Diaz regime. He had no standing

¹ Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 54.

in the constitution, but practically he was the most important official in any district. Diaz practically appointed the governors of the different states, and the governors appointed these political bosses for the various districts. They represented both the President and the Governor, and were more powerful than any regular elective official. Army officers, legislators, presidents of municipalities, collectors of customs, and practically all the people in the district were subject to these *jefes*. Sometimes these men were appointed after they had gained great power and understood the machine well. Other times they were sent to out-of-the-way districts because they had strong personalities and would be able to "nip in the bud" any political disturbances. So long as they did this, their methods were not likely to be questioned.

In one of the communities where I lived the most prominent gentleman of the town, who owned the most real estate and who controlled hundreds of thousands of acres of farming land, was called "Colonel." After several years' residence I learned how this title came to him. He was sent to this center some twenty years before as *jefe politico*. He organized a band of ruffians who would ride over the country and collect herds of sheep and cattle for him. If the owner of a little herd of cattle saw them being driven away, and demanded, "Who told you to drive these

cattle off?" The reply would be, "The Colonel." If the owner were audacious enough to go into the city and present himself before the authorities to demand that this gang be punished, before whom would he appear? Why, the Colonel. If he insisted on demanding his rights, he would be thrown into jail and kept there until he recognized the Colonel's supremacy. Thus the *jefe politico* not only got his title "The Colonel" but amassed an immense fortune.

When the revolutionists, many of them the very same men who had been robbed by the Colonel, ten, twenty, or thirty years before, went into his beautiful home in the city after he had abandoned it and requisitioned a few desks and beds for their headquarters, their acts were telegraphed all over the United States to show the barbarity of the revolutionists.

In the later days another type of political boss was developed, represented by a gentleman whom I knew very well. He held court in his own office. Every official in the community paid him so much to hold his job. He controlled the licenses for the saloons and the red light district, he levied heavy taxes on all kind of vice, he sold gambling privileges for the public plaza at certain seasons when excursions were run from different parts of Mexico and the United States to witness the wide open town, and in various ways he collected an

income of two or three thousand Mexican dollars a month. Whenever he went out he was accompanied by a few strongly armed men, to protect him against the not infrequent assaults of the people who suffered from his oppression. Those who dared make any resistance whatever were summarily disposed of. The saddest part of his whole dictatorship was the fact that he commanded the bodies of young women whom he would send for, especially those of the lower classes. It seems incredible that such a man could wield continued power in the latter years of the Diaz régime. It is useless to cite more examples of this kind, though they could be found in all parts of Mexico.

We have often been told of the abuses of the peon on the great haciendas. These immense holdings had either come down to their owners from colonial times, or had been given to them for some political service, or had been taken from the Indians who held and worked them as common tribal possessions. When one of these estates was sold, one bought not only the land and the houses but practically the peons also, for these latter were always kept in debt. The law said that as long as they were in debt they could not leave their employers. If they ran away they might be hunted and brought back. Their wages, of course, were so low that they could never pay their debts.

I remember talking with one of these poor fellows who was on the rear platform of a passenger train stealing a ride. I asked him how much he got a day. "*Dos reales diarios* (twelve and a half cents, American, per day)" he replied. "Have you a family?" "Yes, a wife and twelve children." "Are you married?" (This is not an uncommon question at all to ask a Mexican peon, who very often is not able to have the costly ceremony performed by the church and does not believe in the value of a civil ceremony.) "Yes," he replied. "Were you married by the State or by the church?" "Oh, by the church, Señor." "How much did you pay the priest for the ceremony?" "*Doce pesos*" (six dollars, American). Naturally such a man never had any idea of bettering his condition. It is not likely that he ever thought of its possibility.

The peon is far from being the pugnacious fellow most people think him. He is the most submissive, passive, patient individual you would meet anywhere. If we had to wait for the uprising of these peon classes of the lowest order, we would wait a long time indeed. The Revolution was started not by them but by the few thousands in the gradually developing middle class, aided at times by people who had been associated with the Government but for various reasons had lost their places, or by young men, sons of the governing classes, who had gone to foreign countries

and seen how far Mexico was behind the rest of the civilized world in the matter of self-government.

The matter referred to above—namely, the taking of young women by officials in the Diaz régime—was altogether too common. A young girl whom I knew very well, the only daughter of a widow living near us, was one day called out to the high-power automobile of the general of the local garrison, compelled to get in, and driven to the general's headquarters. She was kept in captivity ten days. The poor mother madly besought her release, as did those friends who were brave enough, and she secured it only after she had lain on her face at the door, imploring so piteously that the general dared not face the publicity of his beastly act any longer.

This is one thing that Carranza and his close associates have gone after in the most vigorous way. Of course, there has been raping at times by his soldiers, but I have known personally of his ordering executions because of this. Carranza respects womanhood and his whole movement has stood for a new place for women. The young women who are school teachers and the few others who are in business have come to receive new respect, and the old feeling that any woman who is unaccompanied is prey for a foul male is opposed with all Carranza's power. Mexican

men have too long preyed upon their women-kind for it to be true that it has disappeared, but the old assumption that an official could command any woman of the humble class that he wanted without fear of reproof from his superiors has certainly been swept away.

I recently asked a young Pullman conductor if he thought there had been a real revolution in his country or if the disturbance were simply the matter of "the outs wanting in." With the quickness of thought typical even of the less educated Mexican, he replied promptly that there has been a real revolution, that has brought about changes along at least these five lines:

1. Free elections. While there are still some abuses, yet in a large number of cities and states elections are held with absolute freedom to vote for any candidate one pleased. Twenty of the twenty-seven states now have civilian governors, elected by the people.

2. Liberation of the peons. These have been released from their slavery because of debt, mainly by an increase in wages. Day laborers both in the city and the country are getting three or four times what they got before the Revolution.

3. Improved condition of the skilled laborer. In the old days threatened strikes were immediately suppressed by the military. Workmen had no way of demanding more pay or shorter hours.

Now, however, many trade unions are being organized and labor is allowed by means of strikes and in other ways to demand better treatment. This is explicitly provided for in the Constitution of 1917. Higher wages, shorter hours, accident insurance, improved sanitation, and other advantages are being gradually secured, as the men show their ability to stand together. The alliance recently formed with the American Federation of Labor is proving of great help to Mexican labor.

4. Reform in the Church. The priests used to exert too much power in politics and controlled too much property. The Revolution has been directed against the temporal power of the Church and its influence toward reaction, and in certain places the Revolution has gone to the extreme in its opposition. But the Church has learned a necessary lesson and is now being allowed to function freely in spiritual matters.

5. The use of a larger element in government service. In the old days the Government was confined to a few intellectuals. Now many men from all walks of life are called to fill the offices. Even many of the old Diaz régime, who have long been expatriated, are now returning and some of them are being used in the Government.

In connection with this last point it is interesting to note the composition of the last National Congress, according to professions, which was as

follows: Ten lawyers, twelve doctors of medicine, ten civil engineers, eighteen professors of public instruction, ten newspaper writers, two historians, seven railroad men, fifteen export office men, fourteen members of the Army, three industrialists, sixteen merchants, fourteen workingmen, and nine agriculturists. The remainder are men who are not specialists in any of the branches mentioned, but are engaged in various activities in banking, commerce, and industry, and as members of university faculties.

In pointing out the facts that show there has been a real social revolution in Mexico, no one, of course, can fail to recognize the many abuses practiced at the present time by Mexican officials, the badly run-down condition of the country after these years of terrible civil war, the need of money for rehabilitation of railroads and public utilities and for education, and the many problems on every hand that yet remain to be solved.

The principal abuses which the Government must clear up before it can expect the full confidence of the outside world are: first, the overriding of civilian rights by the Army; second, graft; and third, banditry.

The recent improvement in regard to each of these abuses gives ground for hope that they will gradually disappear. Great gains have been made

in overcoming the first and the last, but graft is still very widespread.

A real social revolution, which, while it overturns in the present, is laying deep foundations for the future, must have in it a large element of youth. The outstanding thing about the present revolution in Mexico is the fact that it is carried on by young men. President Diaz was surrounded by men mostly over sixty. He once expressed great surprise that such a young man as a certain gentleman who was forty-five could think of becoming Governor of his state. The opposite is true of Carranza. Seldom do you find an official who is not a young man, and most of them are very young.

Boys whom one knew in school only a few years ago one now finds as councilmen, mayors, secretaries, governors of states, and even ministers to foreign countries. They are often, very often, without experience. Still, they are forward-looking fellows, and a majority are free from the old hardened politician's scheming and graft. Very noticeably are they coming to the front in the field of education.

Many of them have studied either in American schools in Mexico or in the United States. The Director of the National Preparatory School is a young man of twenty-eight, a graduate of Washington and Jefferson College. The principal

advisor to the National Government in educational affairs is a young man who has spent eight years in Columbia University, last year married a New York girl, and is now giving his services to the Government. If there were time I could run through the list of educational authorities in Mexico, from Monterrey on down through the different states, and show that these leaders are largely young men who understand our educational system and who know the real heart of the American people.

Let us look at a few of these young fellows. Not long ago I went into the central office of the primary schools of Mexico City. The councilman who, as Secretary of the Municipal Committee on Education, was the head of this office was a young fellow that looked to be hardly out of his teens. He showed me through the various offices and explained the work, including an up-to-date card system he had put in to show various facts about each of the 2,000 teachers under him—the time work was begun, amount of salary, grade of work done, and other details. When I saw how the teachers listened to his judgment and how the office force respected him, I looked again for some appearance of age. No, he is just twenty-four years old. But, with Latin brilliancy and early maturity, he is giving the enthusiasm of his youth to this complicated work. By the records he shows

that there are now more students in the primary schools in Mexico City than there were in the days of Diaz. He then turns to tell me of his struggle against the Pan-Latin campaign of Manuel Ugarte, who came to Mexico when this young man was president of the Mexican Student Association, to appeal to the students to join with all other Latin-American students in a league against the influence of the United States. The struggle was a memorable one, ending in the triumph of Pan-American sentiment over Pan-Latinism among the Mexican students. The greatest ambition of this young man now is to go to the United States for several years' study. There is nothing that we could do that would be more helpful in Mexico's development and in the promotion of friendship between the two countries than to create scholarships to bring such students to the United States.

The present Governor of the State of Coahuila is one of the most interesting of the group of young men who are now causing their influence to be felt in Mexico. One can hardly believe that such a young man as Sr. Mireles could be entrusted with the governorship of a state and yet, as you look into his official work, you are convinced that he is fully capable of carrying the job. His great passion is education. Coahuila has for many years occupied a first place among the states in

education. But Governor Mireles now claims that there are 100 per cent more teachers and 100 per cent more money being spent on public schools this year than there were in the year 1910—the last of the Diaz régime.

While Carranza was Governor, the state voted a subsidy to several private American schools. Governor Mireles a few days ago called the American Directress of the *Colegio Inglés* to his office and told her that it was his desire to restore again the subsidy of 100 pesos a month to her school. He also assured her that, if she would begin the erection of the proposed new building for the school, he would see that all the materials brought from the United States entered free of duty and would also help her in purchasing at a reduced rate the materials bought in Mexico.

One is reminded here of another well-known educator who began his work in Saltillo, the capital city of Coahuila. Some twenty-five years ago Governor Cárdenas of that state decided that it was time that they had a public school system. He selected about fifteen young people to go to the Normal School at Bridgewater, Massachusetts, and prepare themselves for leading in the new movement. There was a young Methodist minister who had a private school that had attracted the attention of the Governor. The latter, therefore, made a proposal to the director of this

school that he should chaperon the party of young people that was going to Bridgewater, adding that, if he cared to take any of the courses himself, he would be at liberty to do so. The young parson did take the courses along with the other students and also took all of the honors. When he returned, therefore, he was appointed director of the new normal school and superintendent of the public school system of the state. He began with practically nothing but his title, but he ended by building up for his state the best public school system in Mexico and erecting in the city of Saltillo the most modern normal school in the Republic. Toward the latter part of the Diaz régime he was suspected of being too liberal. A commission from the President waited upon him and asked for a declaration of loyalty. He told them that if he could change his political convictions as easily as he could his coat, he would be willing to give such a declaration as the one asked for, but that that would be impossible. He was, therefore, forced to leave the country and spent several years in post-graduate work and teaching at Vanderbilt University. Three years ago he returned on the invitation of President Carranza as the Director of Secondary Education for the Federal District, which amounts practically to being the minister of education. Recently he has been appointed Governor of the State of

Tamaulipas, because his ability and his sympathetic understanding of American life were especially needed in working out some difficult problems in connection with the American oil interests in that state.

Another one of these young men with the modern viewpoint is the Governor of Zacatecas. When I called on him to express my hope of having the United States help Mexico in her educational problem, he said that I had arrived at a time *oportuno*.

"Mexico, as all the rest of the world, is looking today to your great President, Mr. Wilson, who is unquestionably the leading citizen of the world, because we all have confidence in him. Closer relations must surely come between our country and yours, as they have already come between all the rest of Latin-America and the United States. A cartoon in one of our papers the other day may have exaggerated in a humorous way the President's popularity, but it has a great deal of truth in it. The cartoon represented the sun as tipping his hat to President Wilson and asking if the President would still allow him to keep his central place in the solar system. Here are some leaflets containing the speeches of President Wilson, for which I sent to your Committee on Public Information in Washington. Look here what he says about Russia. A man who can see the question in that large way can certainly be trusted by all the nations who have great problems of reconstruction before them."

When asked about his friendship for the working people, the Governor smiled appreciatively and explained, with the refreshing enthusiasm of one who has given himself to a great cause, what he has been doing to give the laboring classes an opportunity to own land in his state. He said:

"Before the Revolution, this state was owned by a few great landlords, an average estate being from twenty-five to fifty thousand hectares (a hectar is about two and a half acres). There was one proprietor who has an hacienda of 600,000 hectares. These *hacendados* live in Mexico City or in Paris, employing overseers, with instructions to raise simply enough to give the owner what he needs for his income. No attempt is made to use modern machinery, to improve the property, or to intensify cultivation. I have known many peons who received for their daily wage five quarts of corn—that is, the feed for a horse. During my military life, in dealing with the Indians all the way from Sonora to Yucatan, I found that their one desire was for land. They could see no reason whatever why these proprietors should have all the benefits and they themselves should work from early morn till late at night for nothing but a few tortillas and frijoles. I, therefore, resolved that, if I ever got an opportunity to help in alleviating their situation, I would do it. When I became a candidate for the governorship I put up a simple platform, concerned principally with agrarian laws. When I was elected I said to my-

self, 'Now we Mexicans generally forget all about what we have said we would do when we come to take office; so the one business of my official life shall be to carry out my platform and to see that the laws are obeyed'. That is a very simple plan and my only ambition is simply to do that thing.

As you know, the question of the distribution of lands, which the Constitutionals have always advocated, is left for the several states to work out. Our law here is different from that of any other state. In outline it is as follows: Any laboring man, native or foreign, has a right to buy from three to two hundred hectares of land—according to whether it is very rich for intensive cultivation, or whether it is mountain land, good simply for grazing—as this is about the amount of land that is necessary to maintain a family. When the man has selected the land, he can either buy it from the proprietor or, if the proprietor refuses to sell it, the Government will sell it to him at the price that the proprietor has estimated the land to be worth before the appraiser of taxes. If the Government is forced to make the sale, it guarantees the payment to the owner, the purchaser paying so much through a term of years until the land is paid for. At first the large landowners fought me with every possible weapon, and sometimes even the central government was unfavorable. The question of the constitutionality of our law has been carried all through the lower courts, which have constantly sustained it, and it is now before the supreme court of Mexico, where there is little question that it will be decided in our favor.

The landowners have now come to the point where they will sell any land that a poor man wishes to buy. They see that it is a good deal better for them to sell at a fair price than to have the Government force the sale at the price on which they have been paying taxes, which, of course, is practically nothing compared to the real value. Now all we have to do is to write to these proprietors in Mexico City, proposing the sale, and we get back word by telegram authorizing the sale. During the year we have placed about 2,000 families on 'plots of land'.

Military conditions in the state have changed entirely. This land distribution has created such a good feeling among the common people that, in spite of having hardly any federal troops to keep order, the common people themselves in the various towns organize their own militia for protection."

I have given this interview rather in detail because it touches one of the greatest problems in Mexico, one which has been at the very heart of all of the revolutionary disturbances. A little comparison with present conditions in Russia and in other parts of the world will indicate that the revolution begun by Madero in 1911—which can hardly yet be said to have ceased entirely—anticipated the world revolution against the domination of property interests, which is working out in its worst forms in the Bolsheviki movement of Russia. The Mexican has studied little Social-

ism as it has been studied in Europe. He knows little of the theories of Karl Marx, and it is fortunate that the leadership of this revolution has not been of the extreme type which would lead Mexico into the terrible conditions in which Russia finds herself today. It might be pushing the parallel too far to say that if Villa had succeeded instead of Carranza, we would have a Bolshevik reign in Mexico now just as in Russia. There are, however, several points in common.

I have intimated before, and any one who has known Mexico for years can not help but be impressed by the fact, that the power today is in the hands of an entirely different class of people from that of Diaz's time. His party were called *Científicos*, "Scientists", and they gloried in their intellectual ability. When they fell, Demos took the saddle, and there were times when a man known to be intellectual was for that very reason under suspicion. Practically all of the intellectuals left the country, and the Government was left largely in the hands of the rising young middle class. Of course it is very clear that if Mexico is to succeed in developing a democracy, the best of both of these classes must be used.

One of the best indications that Mexico is returning to the normal, where both the intellectuals and the rising young generation forming a middle class are to take part in the direction of

the country, was given me by a large landowner. He was returning to Mexico City after inspecting some of his large estates in the north. After giving me a most interesting account of how he had passed the several years of revolution, first in Paris and afterward in New York, he told me that he is now living, with no molestation whatever, in Mexico City, and that the Government is offering guarantees to many of the intellectuals who have heretofore been political refugees. "Every day I meet in the streets," he said, "old friends of mine who belonged to the former régime, and all report that they are treated well. Sometimes, when some lesser official attempts to persecute them, they appeal to President Carranza and he arranges matters for them. I have a young nephew, who has one of the most brilliant minds Mexico has ever produced, who has been living in exile in Arizona for several years, earning scarcely enough to keep his family together. I have written him, saying that he should return and that he would find no persecution whatever. His reply is that from all he can read in the papers in the United States, conditions are as bad as ever in Mexico, and he can not feel that it would be safe for him to return. He could have plenty and to spare here in Mexico and enjoy his intellectual pursuits to the fullest extent."

The struggle of these young men against the old order in education is well illustrated by the following summary of arguments given in a recent pamphlet,² in which the young men now in charge of the National Preparatory School are arguing against a threatened return of the school to the old order:

The National Preparatory School was established in Mexico City on two false principles, one administrative and the other pedagogical, to wit: first, that the preparatory school ought to have for its object the preparation of the scholar to enter a professional school; second, that the course of study ought to proceed from the absolutely abstract (mathematics) to the absolutely concrete (zoology). The people were left without a secondary school of general culture, as not all can follow a profession; and there was adopted a plan of studies making the sciences and logic the arbiter, forgetting absolutely psychology. These two false principles explain the evident failure of the National Preparatory School in México.

Statistics show that of each one hundred pupils in the school eighty failed in their studies, and of the other twenty probably one has distinguished himself in the professions. The rest have become members of the great army, every year growing

² *La Escuela Preparatoria*, Mexico, 1917.

larger, of the proletariat of the frock coat. It is evident that a school that gives to society only one really useful man from every one hundred of its pupils, or, in order not to sin, let us say gives to it twenty, is a failure from every point of view.

On the other hand, what has been the social attitude of this small group of graduates? They have formed the intellectual and professional classes, and they are a group absolutely distinct and therefore easily observed. In the war of the liberals against the conservatives, nearly all the intellectual class was on the side of Juarez. In the revolution against Diaz, and in the more just one against Huerta, where were the intellectuals? It is well known that generally they were on the side of Diaz and on the side of Huerta.

In the United States there are 13,000 secondary schools, approximately one for each 7,000 of the population. In Mexico, the old system advocated only one preparatory school, and, in fact, up until a short time ago there was only one for all the Federal District, which has about 700,000 inhabitants. It is very clear then that, while the United States has formed the preparatory school for the people, Mexico has followed another way.

The pamphlet just referred to contains a valuable critical study of the whole subject of secondary education in Mexico.

On a visit to the National Preparatory School, of which this criticism is made, I heard an address by the young Governor of Coahuila, which is so indicative of the way the present educational leadership considers the problem, that I venture the following summary:

"When I entered the director's room this morning, I saw upon the walls the picture of that great educator, Gabino Barreda, the founder of our normal school and undoubtedly the man who influenced, more than any other, our Mexican education. Although born outside of the country, he very soon drank deeply of our national spirit. He was a positivist and with his strong doctrinalism broke down the old theological ideas in our educational system. This positivism at that time served a great purpose in that it freed us from the old, narrow, clerical bondage, but as it developed and came more and more to pervade our education, its influence became detrimental. It produced an intellectual class whose members believed that there was no such thing as idealism. They thought they could measure everything by a rule and solve all problems by mathematics. When this intellectual class was told of the aspirations of the common people, of the democratic ideals that were beginning to develop among the common people, of the national aspirations of the lower classes, they laughed at such suggestions. To them there was no such thing as the soul. Truth was a matter of diagram, of mathematics, of scientific demonstration. This is the explanation of the fact that the

intellectuals of Mexico never took any part in the Revolution. It was impossible for them to understand the longing of the common people, and until the very day that these people, by their united efforts in every part of the nation, became victorious, the intellectuals were entirely unaware of the people's strength. It is one of the most curious phenomena of history that a great revolution could take place among a people and the intellectuals be untouched by it. Herein is a great lesson for those of us who are leaders in this new life.

If we are to have a new nation, education must make it. But if we are not to fail like our predecessors, we must realize the absolute necessity of educating the soul. If we leave out the spiritual and the idealistic we may expect to fail, just as our predecessors have failed. Far more important than teaching what the books say, than teaching certain theories of philosophy and science, is the work of developing the soul of young people in order that they may really love and serve their country. We young men who are leaders in the Revolution have been charged with being idealists, Utopians, with nothing practical in our program. We indeed are idealists. We have made many mistakes. We have failed often to be practical, and yet I say to you that we are not ashamed of being young or of being idealistic. Mistakes we shall make in the future, but we will never make the fundamental mistake our predecessors made in thinking that all is materialistic, that the people have no soul, that they are incapable of enthusiasm and of fighting for an ideal.

If I am permitted to mention one of the great dangers in education which we must fight absolutely until it is conquered, it is the matter of having education too closely connected with politics. The teacher must be absolutely assured of his position as long as life lasts. He must not be subject to the caprices of any political office-holder. In other words, the teacher must be so situated that he can give himself absolutely to his work as a life task, being assured that he is appreciated enough to be continued through life, with a sufficient salary to give him the ordinary comforts. This condition is not easy to bring about, especially in a young, turbulent democracy like ours. But to this end we must strive, and to this end I am willing to give my whole life. As different circles of revolutionists have arisen in all parts of the country, they have placed upon their banners a thousand different mottoes of reform. But every one of the thousand is comprehended in the great problem of education. If we solve this problem, those thousand ideals will be realized."

This struggle of the young educational leaders for the thorough reforming of the basic principles of education is typical of their program for all departments of life, and illustrates, perhaps as well as anything could do, the fundamental character of the revolution we have been discussing.

We conclude then that the present trouble in Mexico is not simply the matter of personal ambitions of military leaders, but that it is a real

social revolution. The Mexicans, who have been an exploited people for four centuries, have finally risen against conditions which long ago disappeared in most of the civilized world. The first part of the Revolution, the destruction of the old, has about been concluded, and Mexico now faces the more difficult part, that of reconstruction. Encouraging progress has been made. The forward-looking young men who are engaged in rebuilding the nation along modern lines, although often mistaken in judgment, are working with enthusiasm and devotion to solve Mexico's problems. The country can never return to the old order, when a strong man will enforce peace and economic activity at the price of moral stagnation and social and political reaction. If the present reform government should be overthrown, it would only mean the continuing of the struggle until another progressive government, strong enough to stand, should be set up. In the difficult period of reconstruction, we shall need to have patience with a weak people and help them to speed up their process of nation building.

CHAPTER III

WHAT KIND OF A MAN IS CARRANZA?

My acquaintance with Señor Carranza began in 1911, when he came to the international boundary line to meet Don Francisco Madero, who was making his triumphal entry into Mexico after his revolution had been won. When I saw these two men embrace, I could not help wishing that the big, stalwart, well-poised man of logic, instead of the little, excitable man of vision, were going to the capital to direct the affairs of the nation.

At this time he visited the People's Institute at Piedras Negras, of which I was director. On being told by the municipal president that all the leading men in the new democratic life of the district had been trained in the debating club, the lecture courses, or the night classes of the Institute, he became interested in the multiplying of such institutions, and had developed definite plans for this when he was suddenly stopped by the Huerta *coup d'état*.

Since our common interest in this kind of education led to our friendship, which was not in any sense political, I feel that I knew the real

Carranza, especially during the time he was working out the problems of the governorship of Coahuila. I never saw a man enter into the hard task of bettering labor conditions, equalizing taxation, and extending the educational work of his state with more enthusiasm and apparently with a greater desire to serve his people. Several times he mentioned to me that he had been called to Mexico City by the Madero Government, but he said that his greatest ambition was to work out the problems of his own state, and that only the direst necessity would cause him to abandon his work as Governor for any other position. I would say that the greatest disappointment of his life came when he was compelled to abandon these administrative reforms to take up the duties of a soldier.

He has a very delightful family, consisting of a wife and two daughters. While he was in Piedras Negras, his wife and daughters were with him for a while and, living across the street from each other, our families visited back and forth, and learned to know one another very well. Señora Carranza and the two young lady daughters were quiet, unpretentious people, of what we would call the upper middle class. When the fighting got so bad that the General had to put himself at the head of his troops, and it was no longer safe for his family to stay in Mexico, it was our sad

privilege to take them in our carriage across the international bridge into Texas. In its center, where the monument marks the boundary between the two nations, the husband and father bade good-by to his loved ones. It was one of the most affecting scenes, though with little outward show of emotion, that I ever witnessed, and gave me a new respect for the man.

In all these intimate relationships I never saw anything in Señor Carranza that led me to believe that he was not sincere in his professions of love for his people. It happened that a hundred or more of the young men whom I taught in Mexico entered the Constitutionalist Army, which is almost entirely an organization of young men. From them I have always heard the highest praise of the personality of Señor Carranza. I do not hold a brief for his political opinions nor justify the many abuses committed by his followers, which, as one reads history, are found to be very similar to what has happened in all other nations in periods of violent political eruption, but I do believe firmly in the purity of his motives.

Venustiano Carranza was born fifty-nine years ago in the city of Cuatro Ciénegas. His father was a colonel under Juarez. Carranza began to study law, but was seized with a youthful desire for life in the open, and gave himself to agriculture and herding on his father's estate. By this means and

by a visit to an oculist in the United States, he conquered an infirmity which threatened to limit his whole life. In 1887, he was elected Municipal President of Cuatro Ciénegas. The success of his agricultural efforts and his publication of a few pamphlets on agriculture and herding, decided his fellow-citizens to elect him Municipal President at a time when that office was filled by the powers in Mexico City. The Governor of the state asked him to give a report which would show how his city was progressing. Carranza refused to give any report that did not show the economic reforms that were necessary. So he resigned his office.

When Cárdenas became the popular candidate for Governor of Coahuila, and the central government began by despotic means to suppress his candidacy, Carranza and several other Liberals took up arms to obtain the right to elect their own governor. On hearing that Diaz considered his action simply that of a bandit, Carranza went alone to Mexico City to discuss the matter with Diaz. The result of the interview was that Diaz agreed to withdraw his candidate and Cardenas became Governor. Carranza himself was later elected a member of the State Legislature, and following that a member of the Federal Senate. In 1908 he was designated by Congress to substitute for the Governor of his state for a few months. He founded a number of hospitals and

schools, and prosecuted maladministration to such an extent that he was asked to run for the governorship the next term. He was requested by Diaz to withdraw his candidacy, but he refused.

It was this campaign of Carranza's which first enlisted Francisco I. Madero in active politics. Madero made speeches for Carranza and contributed to his expenses, only to see Carranza meet the fate of all opposition candidates under the Diaz system—he was counted out. The young, idealistic Madero, seeing how the system operated, plunged then heart and head into the campaign for electoral reform, which led to the revolution against Diaz. Madero said, just after the success of his revolution, that to the example of Carranza, and to his ideals in politics, he owed the inspiration that led him into taking up the sword against Diaz.

Madero once elevated to the presidency by means of free election, his administration was quickly beset by intrigue and treachery on the part of the group who pretended to be his friends. These men, who protested an ardent and patriotic desire to forget the past and to cooperate in upholding the new government and its proposed reforms, seemed to do so only to obscure their purpose of discrediting the latter and to cloak their treasonable intent to overthrow the con-

stitutional chief magistrate. The conspiracy assumed such proportions that Madero, believing as he did in those who pledged their honor to his support, was rendered helpless for the time being in carrying out the program of the revolution. At this moment the conspirators, assisted by a large group of corrupt officers of the Army, struck the blow known as the insurrection of the Ciudadela, which offered to General Victoriano Huerta, commanding general of the government forces, the opportunity treacherously to assume the dictatorship of Mexico. The President and Vice-President were brutally put to death, and a reign of terror inaugurated that horrified the world. Such were the incidents that induced the Constitutionalist movement of today, a movement which is simply a continuation of the revolution of 1910.

While certain governors of states and a majority of the military commanders accepted Huerta in the role that he assumed, Venustiano Carranza, who in the meantime had been elected Governor of the State of Coahuila, refused to be cowed. He boldly declared himself in opposition to the dictator and his so-called government, and, with his state militia, commenced immediate operations for armed resistance. He announced that he regarded his action as a struggle to the death. Madero had failed, Carranza

believed, because of compromise with the reactionaries. He would stake all on the struggle, as the following words, uttered at that time, show: "I am the only leader recognized as supreme by all the chiefs of the revolution. What we fight for is the Constitution of our country and the development of our people. Huerta outraged the Constitution when he overthrew and murdered President Madero. He continues to outrage it by attempting to govern despotically as Diaz did, and refusing to administer fairly the laws, which are equal for all. This revolution can not cease until either we, the Constitutionals, triumph, or until Huerta triumphs completely over us. Even in the latter case it would only cease for the moment, for the revolution has its roots in social causes."

To the question, "What kind of a man is Carranza?" one might answer, offhand, that he is very much the same kind of a man that President Wilson is. At least they are strikingly alike in certain respects. Take for instance, the matter of set ideas or, to use a less complimentary term of opponents—stubbornness. Carranza has never varied in his program since the very first day that he tacked his little thesis up on the door of the Custom House in Piedras Negras, when he began the revolution against Huerta.¹ Having read what he said in 1913, I realized when I saw

him last, six years later, in the National Palace, that he had the same ideas still and the same determination to carry them out. How many times during the intervening years have we supposed that Carranza was "done for!" It was triumphantly alleged that Huerta had eliminated him. When Villa turned against him, it was declared impossible for Carranza to continue. By others he was pushed on out of the country until he finally found himself in Vera Cruz—only one more step would plunge him into the deep blue sea! But Carranza is today occupying the National Palace and people everywhere—even those who two years ago assured me of the impossibility of his holding out—are now saying that there appears to be no one of sufficient strength to threaten his power. Obregon told a friend that when he first met Carranza he was very much put out by the First Chief's insistence on reading every little word of every little dispatch or document that he was to sign. He was so deliberate and so slow that it seemed he would never get anywhere. "But," said Obregon, "as I came to know him more intimately I began to regard him as a machine, something like a steam roller, which, as it moved over the ground, did not neglect the smallest particle, but left each detail packed down in the right place, as it moved slowly but surely toward the accomplishment of

its object." Carranza's stubbornness, or his insistence on keeping to the same program, even if the whole world were against him, could hardly be called a Latin-American characteristic. It is the same, however, that was responsible for the final triumph of Juarez, and is probably an Indian inheritance.

Reverses never seemed to suggest anything to Carranza but fighting on to the bitter end. Several months after he had established his headquarters at Piedras Negras at the beginning of the Revolution, he wished to join the growing armed forces in Sonora. He intended to go through the United States by rail, but learned that if he did so he would be arrested for violating the neutrality laws. He decided to make the trip by horseback and rode for sixty days through the worst kind of country, covering about 3,000 kilometers. It was reported everywhere that he was killed, as no word was received from him throughout the trip. But his stubbornness and his iron constitution scored again.

Two years later, after incessant struggle, he succeeded in approaching Mexico and laying siege with his army. The Minister of Brazil, representing the various diplomats of the capital, sought an interview with him, which was granted on the condition that the only topic discussed should be the surrender of Mexico City and the

dissolution of Huerta's army. During the interview the Brazilian diplomat attempted to deflect the conversation to other issues. He offered General Carranza recognition by the governments of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and the United States, if, when the city was surrendered, Carranza would guarantee the freedom of all of the inhabitants of all political creeds and would incorporate in his army the officers of Huerta's army. Carranza replied that he had agreed to the interview on the condition that no other subject but the surrender of Mexico City should be discussed. The Minister countered with the threat that he would see then that Carranza was not recognized by any of the governments he represented. The General rose from his chair, brought his fist down on the table, and told the Minister that he might do whatever he wished and that the interview was concluded. It was only a few days later that Carranza entered Mexico in triumph. The same refusal to yield, often when the odds were entirely against him, has been repeatedly shown.

In the first part of the Revolution, Don Venustiano counted greatly on the help of his brother, Don Jesús. While the latter was in Tehuantepec inspecting troops, he was betrayed into the hands of the enemy. A telegram was sent immediately to the First Chief, giving him a choice between the shooting of his brother and the other

prisoners and entering into a compact with the reactionary party. Carranza immediately answered that principle was greater than life, even the life of those dearest to him, and refused to compromise. The enemy coldly calculated how they might bring the greatest pressure to bear. The shooting of each prisoner was telegraphed to Carranza. First came the members of the personal staff of Don Jesús, afterward some of his family, and finally the old General himself. Days afterward loyal troops found the remains in the mountains, and took them to Vera Cruz, the headquarters of the First Chief, for burial. As a Mexican writer says: "This heroic city received them with consternation and with full admiration for an immortal one, the glory of a race which had inspired Cuahatemoc to lie on his bed of torment for its admiration during five centuries of time. Don Venustiano Carranza received the remains and conducted them to the cemetery. His face was the face cut out of granite by the hand of the Aztec. Perhaps only in his eyes was reflected the profound suffering of his soul, as he followed silently on foot the undecorated casket."¹

The international policy of the United States in relation to the Latin-American countries is

¹ Antonio Manero in *México y la Solidaridad Mexicana*, from which other material in this chapter has also been drawn.

generally one which desires order and peace above all else. On August 13, 1915, in union with six other American powers, this Government sent an invitation to all the generals commanding the different revolutionary forces in Mexico to meet in conference, in order to come to a decision that would pacify the disturbed Republic. All of them accepted the invitation but Carranza. The following extract from the reply of his Minister will intimate the why of his "stubbornness" as it was called in this country and his *intransigencia* as it was called in Mexico:

"He can not consent to a discussion of the domestic affairs of the Republic by mediation or on the initiative of any foreign government whatever. . . Mexico is now stirred by a genuine revolution which aims at doing away with the last vestiges of the colonial times, as well as with all the errors and excesses of past administrations, and to satisfy the noble yearnings of the Mexican people for well-being and improvement. . . Started by Don Francisco I. Madero, the revolution of 1910 could not be carried out because of the compromise effected at Ciudad Juarez with the old régime. The treaties there concluded allowed the enemies of the people to stand and were one of the main causes of the tragic events of February, 1913, which are surely known to Your Excellencies and in the contriving of which no small part was taken by several foreign ministers accredited to the Government of Mexico. . . I have no doubt that Your Excellencies will draw from the fore-

going statement the intimate conviction that by entering into agreements with the vanquished faction, the First Chief would relinquish not only the victory won at the cost of so many sacrifices but also the First Chiefship of the Constitutionalist Army and the executive power of the nation and thereby foil the faith and confidence reposed in him by the Mexican Army and people. Furthermore, Your Excellencies must not forget that the yearning of this people for freedom and democracy is entirely legitimate and that nobody has a right to prevent their enjoying the fruit of their trying struggles in the not distant future.”²

On another occasion, when many were deserting his standards and everything looked discouraging, he said to his followers: “For serving the country there is never a surplus of individuals, nor is anyone ever missed who leaves its service.”

Carranza’s critics say that he selects his advisers not because of their intrinsic worth but because of their willingness and ability to do the will of their chief. It is said that a few nights after Carranza had decided to lead the revolution in opposition to Huerta, several friends gathered in a room in the Hotel Coahuila in Saltillo to talk over plans for the coming campaign. One of the men said to the Governor: “It seems to me that now in the beginning of this important business is the time for you to surround yourself with some wise,

² World Peace Foundation “The New Pan-Americanism.”

trusted advisers." The reply of Governor Carranza is reported to have been, "I am my own adviser." As I write today there is in the Mexican Cabinet no Secretary of Foreign Relations, no Secretary of the Treasury, no Secretary of War. These portfolios are all handled by sub-secretaries, young men who have been with Carranza since the beginning of the Revolution and in whom he has implicit confidence that they will do without question what he tells them.

There are two kinds of leadership. One is the kind that sees a vision and places the responsibility of carrying out that vision upon carefully selected men, who are made to feel the responsibilities of the great tasks before them. The other is the kind that assumes openly and without reserve the responsibility for carrying forward the task and selects lieutenants, whose greatest recommendation is the fact that they will be absolutely true to the leader and the cause that he represents. Whether or not the latter is the better type, it is preeminently the type represented by President Carranza.

Another characteristic of the President is his dignity and reserve. He prefers to sit behind closed doors and operate by the power of his logic and the force of his ideas rather than to go out before a crowd and hear their cries of *Viva el Presidente!* I remember the old days when he

was running for the governorship of Coahuila. His campaign was the first one ever conducted in that state by an open appeal to the public in general. He wished to inaugurate open campaigning because he wanted the people to realize that Mexico was coming into a new democratic life, when the people themselves must judge between the candidates. However, Carranza himself scarcely ever made a speech. He had three fiery young orators—two of them now governors of states—who accompanied him on his campaign. When he got to a city these orators answered the addresses of welcome, made speeches before all kinds of gatherings, and used all the tricks of campaigns learned from the United States, while Señor Carranza would sit quietly by and look pleased. Most of his time in each of the towns was given to conferences with individuals of importance in the community. So, today, he very seldom makes an address or publishes a statement.

Another outstanding characteristic of the President is his nationalism. This is shown first in his profound belief in the Mexican people and their ability to govern themselves. The type of nationalism incarnate in Carranza is that which is common to the leading patriots and political ideologists of the Latin-American countries. This important matter North Americans generally fail to

realize. It is patriotism of an intense and severe sort, passionate for progress according to the national norm, 'desirous of assimilating helpful elements from abroad, but jealously guarding disintegration of the indigenous culture by forces inimical to the Latin conception of democracy. This idealistic nationalism which breathes through the political programs of the Hispanic-American republics has been set forth in an illuminating manner by the Argentine author, Ricardo Rojas.³ Nationalism he defines as patriotism with its territorial base, the land, and its political base, the nation. Its elements are solidarity and the consciousness of tradition and of language. He regards as "active factors of national dissolution," Jewish schools where lessons are given in Hebrew, "colleges of religious congregations, Protestant establishments, and German and Italian educational institutions which obey foreign governments." Discouragingly he describes a growing "cosmopolitanism in men and ideas, the dissolution of the old moral nuclei, indifference concerning public business, and increasing forgetfulness of traditions, the popular corruption of language, ignorance of our own territory, lack of national solidarity, anxiety for riches without scruple, the worship of the most ignoble hierarchies, the disdain of higher accomplishments, the lack of passion in struggle, the

³ Rojas: *"La Restauración Nacionalista."*

lowering of suffrage, superstitious regard for exotic names, and blasting individualism and depreciation of ideals."

Analogous to Rojas's dream for the Argentine is Carranza's confidence in the latent power of Mexico to develop a large and vigorous life out of indigenous roots and springs. Our own experience with German permeation will help us to understand this attitude.

The essential points of Carranza's doctrine are: first, "No nation should intervene in any form or for any reason in the affairs of another"; second, "Nationals and aliens should be equal before the sovereignty of the country in which they reside"; third, "Diplomacy should not serve to protect private interests."

The principle of emancipation from foreign coercion, exploitation, and domination, and the right of self-determination and self-direction have been affirmed in no less clear and emphatic terms by the President of the United States. Speaking of Latin-America as a whole, Mr. Wilson said in his Mobile address (quoted in *New York Times*):

"What these states are going to see, therefore, is an emancipation from the subordination, which has been inevitable, to foreign enterprise, and an assertion of the splendid character which, in spite of these difficulties, they have again and again been able to demonstrate. The dignity, the

courage, the self-possession, the self-respect of the Latin-American states, their achievements in the face of all these adverse circumstances, deserve nothing but the admiration and applause of the world. They have had harder bargains driven with them in the matter of loans than any other peoples of the world. Interest has been exacted of them that was not exacted of anybody else, because the risk was said to be greater; and thus securities were taken that destroyed the risk—an admirable arrangement for those who were forcing the terms! I rejoice in nothing so much as in the prospect that they will now be emancipated from these conditions, and we ought to be the first to take part in assisting in that emancipation.”

President Carranza believes that the Diaz régime had given Mexico largely over to foreigners and the Mexicans themselves had had little opportunity to reap any benefits from the enormous material riches of their country. From the very first, he has felt that Mexico must be ruled for the benefit of the Mexicans. This actually seems strange to some foreigners. Many think Carranza's first interest should be to please the United States, that whenever any question comes up for decision his first thought should be, “How will this affect Americans?” We would understand many of his actions a great deal better if we could put ourselves in the place of the Mexican people.

Opponents of the present Mexican administration have not been slow to turn to their own

advantage the President's uncompromising adherence to the principle of state integrity and cohesion, as over against selfish individualism and non-cooperative exploitation. This they have done by distorting the Government's attitude toward individual rights and enterprise. Señor Manero, official interpreter of Señor Carranza to the Latin-American countries, says:

"One of the most advertised pretexts in foreign countries against the policies of Mr. Carranza has been the lack of individual guarantees, which always ought to be the inseparable norm in all political mechanism or government. Mexican citizens who have abandoned the country have claimed this, and, in the same way, foreigners formerly resident in Mexico who yet have certain interests there have taken this pretext to provoke for the Mexican Government difficulties of all kinds to hinder its organization and consolidation.

There has been a special reason why this was the theme most often appealed to by the reactionaries. Those who make relations difficult between foreign governments and the Constitutionalist Government have found their most powerful aid in making difficult the interior political situation—as it is well known that the moral assistance of the world's opinion in favor of or against a government is an important factor, not only in its international relations, but also in its interior development. Reactionaries always played upon this theme before the White House, in order to create an atmosphere of suspicion in the American Government

toward Mexico, and the press everywhere has been used as a powerful element to alarm foreign capitalists who have had interests in Mexico. The reactionaries have never made distinctions between legitimate properties of nationals and foreigners and those which have been acquired by dispossession, by political influence, and by force.

It is impossible to believe that respect will be paid to the colossal holdings of some—fortunately very few—who have deprived the ancient Indian owners of their legitimate possessions. . . . It is impossible to believe that respect will be shown for monopolies founded in financial intrigues with former secretaries of state. . . . It is impossible to believe, finally, that respect will be shown for the personal safety of foreigners who, without any right whatever, have mixed in the political questions of the country and have furnished money, material, and moral influence for committing real crimes, as was done in the battle of Mexico City and in the assassination of Madero and Suarez.

But it is still more difficult to believe that the life and liberty of honored foreigners who have complied with their duties of neutrality and social obligations will not be respected, and yet more difficult to believe that their property, secured by their hard work and legitimate rights guaranteed by the Mexican Constitution, will not be respected. The manifesto directed to the nation by Mr. Carranza, on the 11th of June, 1915, in Vera Cruz, at a time when, from a military point of view, the reaction dominated the country, very clearly explains this matter. It contained these words: 'The Constitutionalist Government offers

to the foreign residents in Mexico the guarantees to which they have a right, according to our laws, and it will protect amply their lives, liberty, and enjoyment of their legal rights and their property. According to the indemnization for the harm that the Revolution has caused, wherever such indemnization is just, the Government will assume the responsibility of financial obligations which are legitimate'." ⁴

One of President Carranza's most recent utterances, as the spokesman of his government, is contained in an interview published in the *San Antonio Express*:

"There has been much misunderstanding, or ignorance, in regard to Mexico's foreign policy. It has been represented that the new constitution leads to an attack, tantamount to confiscation, upon foreign-owned property in Mexico. Nothing could be farther from the facts. The truth is that foreign capital coming here under the present laws and abiding by the present laws will find not only an open door, but protection. Under the old constitution foreign capital had more privileges than had Mexican capital itself, a system manifestly unfair and unjust. Under the new laws foreign capital is welcomed and protected, but the Mexican investor is also protected and given a fair chance for competition and legitimate profit.

One of the great works of the Mexican Government, hinging upon thorough reconstruction of the country, is the breaking up of the old system of

⁴ Manero: *México y la Solidaridad Americana*.

vast tracts of land which were owned or acquired by a few individuals and upon which a state of practical serfdom existed. This vicious system is being done away with. The Government is starting to buy or otherwise legally to acquire these lands, in order to give them back to the people at small cost with long-time payments. It is bringing the latest scientific farming machinery and implements into the country, and is demonstrating to the farmer their use by what may be called movable schools on the railroads. The Government is helping the farmer to buy these.

With independence coming from his own land, the farmer will put part of his profits back into the soil, reaping richer harvests, and with his children being taught at the schools we are to establish, the Mexican home will be the basis for a better citizenship. In the increasing number of elementary schools is to be found tangible evidence of the Government's progress in fostering public education. The bill has just been signed for the reopening of the National Agricultural College. The eagerness of the people to learn and their general response are gratifying signs of their appreciation of the true democracy which it is the pledge of my administration to give my country.

Mexico is going rapidly ahead. It is at peace. The reports spread abroad of unrest and of outrages committed on trains and passengers have given the impression, helped by exaggerated statements, that the country is generally disturbed. Such is not the case. Two or three men blow up a train, a hundred or two hundred men stop a freight train in isolated places, but this does not

mean that it is general. These hold-ups or robberies may be compared to what the United States experienced for some years after your war of secession and before the law authorities could bring about complete order. The bandit gangs were daring and many, holding up coaches and railroad trains. While this was going on in the southern and western parts of the United States, the north and the rest of the country were peaceable and progressing and flourishing. So it is with Mexico.

In those days the United States had more than 60,000,000 population and many more resources at its command than has Mexico at the present day. And the United States was better able to cope with the train robbers than is Mexico, but the train robber still exists. His gangs had to be destroyed before the country was safe. We are working on the same problem and making progress, but the difference is great, in that the United States was not hampered by foreign interests which gave aid and arms and ammunition to the bandits, as in the case of Mexico."

That Mr. Carranza has been able to make his nationalism a practical success so far as Mexico's financial status is concerned can not be gainsaid. During 1917-1918, all expenses of government were paid from the federal revenues. The most sweeping monetary reforms have followed a scientific investigation of the methods and results of taxation. As the correspondent of the *New York Tribune*, writing from Mexico City, said:⁵

⁵ In the issue of March 12, 1919.

"Mexico has been trying to work out a financial system adapted to present-day conditions. To this end President Carranza appointed a *Comision de Reorganizacion Administrativa y Financiera*, which at once availed itself of the services of foreign economists. A preliminary survey of the Mexican revenue problem, with suggestions for the reconstruction of the system, was published in July last by Dr. Henry Alfred E. Chandler, Professor of Economics in Columbia University, with a foreword by Professor Edwin R. A. Seligman, of the same institution. Professor Seligman pointed out that 'a fundamental defect of the old system was the multiplicity of taxes'. And he asserted that 'just as the French Revolution swept away at one blow the heterogeneous mass of the complicated medieval taxes in order to replace them by a small number of well selected imposts, so the first task of the fiscal reformer in Mexico must be to introduce simplicity in the tax system. A few carefully chosen resources of revenue will be preferable to a jumble of partial and ineffective imposts'.

This statement, much amplified by Professor Chandler, has been deeply pondered by Mexican statesmen. Just the opposite of this principle was applied in the Diaz government, when every little pedler had to pay for the privilege of selling his handful of sweets or what-not, whereas the great landed proprietors and big firms paid little or nothing."

To prevent waste of public funds and provide a modern system of accounting, an expert from New York was invited to bring to Mexico a

staff of accountants in order to install an audit office. There has been strenuous opposition to this procedure from the grafters, and I understand that they have recently succeeded in ousting some of the American experts. But the system still stands.

The federal income shows encouraging increase. One of the most astonishing items is the receipts from *pulque*, which were 140 pesos⁶ a month in 1910, and in February of 1918 were 140,000 pesos. During the Diaz régime this national drink traffic was largely controlled by government favorites and had paid practically no tax.

No interest on the national debt has been paid for several years. That debt and the unpaid interest on the same pending in the spring of 1919, was about \$265,000,000 (U. S. currency). To get Mexico's total debt, the just claims of foreign interests on account of damage to property during the Revolution would have to be added. No one knows what these will be, but probably nothing like the large sum held in the popular imagination. One authority has estimated this damage at \$100,000,000, with the total debt, including \$50,000,000 for internal improvements, at \$450,000,000. Thirty dollars per capita is not a large national debt.⁷

The increasing prosperity of Mexico may be judged by the fact that the total receipts by the

⁶ A peso is worth about fifty cents United States currency.

⁷ Trowbridge, "Mexico Today and Tomorrow."

Government in 1918, as shown by a statement issued by the Mexican Treasury on March 8, 1919, were \$149,141,378.65, the largest receipts of any year in Diaz's administration being \$105,203,000 (pesos).⁸

President Carranza's confidence in the country's solvency is so firm that there has been no disposition to repudiate any legitimate claim. It is true that at the beginning of the Constitutionalist Government it was resolved to repudiate all the

⁸The Financial Agent of the Mexican Government in New York recently issued the following statement (New York *Sun*, July 14, 1919):

THE PUBLIC DEBT

The external and internal debt of Mexico, estimated up to the last day of the month of June, 1919, is, in the United States currency, as follows:

	<i>Principal</i>	<i>Interest</i>
<i>External Debt</i>	\$143,472,125.68	\$34,001,469.33
<i>Internal Debt</i>	69,397,775.00	17,914,672.62
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$212,869,900.68	\$51,916,141.95
<i>Grand Total</i>	\$264,786,042.63	<i>U. S. currency</i>

This amount of a little more than a quarter of a billion dollars is distributed among a population of sixteen millions or thereabouts. At the close of the Civil War the United States, with a population two and one-half times as great, had a total indebtedness of three billions of dollars. Canada, with a population of less than one-half that of Mexico has a present indebtedness of two billions of dollars, and is now increasing it in order to care for its home-coming soldiers.

Mexico has always paid what she owed, and the longer her creditors have waited for her to pay, the more costly it has been to Mexico. It is estimated that the Government revenues for the present year will yield one hundred million dollars United States currency.

loans Huerta might have made abroad, but, to quote President Carranza's recent message to Congress:

"Nevertheless, the Constitutionalist Government does not shirk the recognition of all legitimate obligations contracted previous to the Revolution, and consequently considers as outstanding the debts covered by Huerta's administration with bonds or funds acquired by means of unlawful loans."

Carranza has insisted on his government's paying its own way, and he has made no foreign loans. This rigid economy has been at the expense of efficiency in some of the most vital parts of Mexico's life. It is particularly noticeable in the conduct of the railroads and the schools, the equipment of both being fearfully "run down at the heel."

Carranza intimates that he will borrow only sufficient funds to pay the nation's debts, and will continue to cut the garment of national expenditure according to the cloth of actual income. To the best friends of Mexico, who would like to see the process of reconstruction hurried, this attitude would seem as unfortunate as are some other indications of the President's extreme nationalism. It is all right to be economical, to keep out of the grasp of creditors, but there are times when it is a very bad business policy for either an individual

or a nation to go to an extreme in this. These are days of "big business," and not all of it, by any means, is bad business. It would seem that the devoted teachers of Mexico should not be made to wait weeks for back salaries; that the opening of new institutions and the strengthening of old ones should not be indefinitely postponed; that railroad trains should not be left to limp along on flat wheels and burnt-out boilers, and all kinds of needed improvements which would help to give employment to the idle should not be held up until even a rich country like Mexico can recuperate its full strength after eight years of civil war. There are hopeful evidences that President Carranza will shift back to a sensible nationalism on this matter as he is beginning to do on others, and the evidences are just as hopeful that American financiers will meet him half way.

It is possible that a good deal of the President's nationalistic policy, which has included an ugly slap at foreign governments once in a while, has been due to the fact that he knew it was good politics with his own people. But one who visits Mexico today is impressed by the fact that she has begun to realize that she has been entirely too nationalistic, too self-satisfied, too afraid of foreign influences, and that her future depends largely on her reaching out to the world and bringing to Mexico the lessons of the progressive

nations. The criticism of the keenest minds concerning President Carranza is that he has been too intensely nationalistic, especially in refusing to accept the help which at various times the United States has been ready to offer. The following is the summary of an article appearing recently in a Mexican paper:

"President Carranza left Mexico City yesterday for the United States on a special train. He will proceed directly to New York, where he will board a warship of the United States, on which he is to accompany President Wilson and many other prominent delegates to the Peace Conference in Paris. President Carranza will represent Mexico at the conference and will suggest to the delegates how the immense natural resources of Mexico can be put at the disposal of the nations in the great work of world reconstruction." Then in small type the article continues: "This and many other similar things could now be written concerning the great opportunity that President Carranza has had of making Mexico count in the great work of bringing peace and prosperity to a torn world, if he had only seen his opportunity, left off his intense nationalism, and entered into an alliance with the other great democratic nations of the world."

The author of that article, who is a strong Constitutionalist, says that President Carranza now

recognizes the need of modifying his program of isolation and welcoming closer cooperation with the United States.

This judgment is in line with that of the President's closest friends and with the outspoken desire for friendship with the United States which he expressed personally to the writer in an interview had with him very recently.

One of the most evident expressions of Carranza's nationalism, and the one of his constitutional reforms that is most widely discussed, is the oil legislation which has thrown foreign capital into such consternation. This is of a piece with Carranza's fiscal policy in general, and is an attempt to preserve Mexican tradition—to found the new order upon a basic principle of Mexico's economic life, which was laid down at the very beginning of the Spanish occupation. The Spanish law made a distinction between surface rights and mineral rights. It reserved to the Crown the exclusive ownership of the subsoil; and, therefore, the Crown held the titles to all mining properties. When Mexico became a republic, the crown rights passed to the Federal Government. All subsequent mining laws of Mexico are based on this ancient tradition of government ownership. The man who buys a mine receives not a deed, but a permit. He owns the product of the mine, but not the subterranean area itself. The distinction is a

fine one, but it has acquired significance for the sensitive Mexican reformer since President Diaz, departing from the traditional principle, secured from his Congress a formal act exempting petroleum from classification with minerals. Carranza's legislation aims to rescue his country from the compromise into which she fell by the pressure upon Diaz of foreign capital. It is not that he wishes to place an embargo on foreign investments as such; for the new legislation is as strenuously opposed by Mexican oil investors as it is by foreigners.

While foreign investors may justly complain at the high tax imposed upon petroleum by the new law, and while mistakes have been made in its application, yet it should not be forgotten that previous to 1917 foreigners paid almost no taxes upon the product of their wells. The Mexican Government is sincere in the conviction that it is well within its rights in enacting the new law, which is merely the reassertion of a constitutional principle.

There is a growing disposition to come to a clear and amicable understanding on the subject with the United States. This attitude was warmly expressed by Señor Palavicini, one of the present candidates for the presidency, who said to me recently:

"The revolutionary movement has intensified the nationalistic spirit. The cry, 'Mexico for the

Mexicans' has, I admit, gone too far. But, as to oil, the new law here is practically no different from that in most of the other civilized countries.

We recognize that we must live as neighbors to the United States. We know that she is much stronger than we are. And, even having the pure technical right on our side, it may not be convenient to follow these rights to their logical conclusion. I wish that the Government would take the opportunity offered them to send a well-versed lawyer to the United States to explain to the public in general the Mexican position. I think we have been too nationalistic in our program. We need to let the people in the United States know what we think, and that we are willing to make certain sacrifices, in order to live in peace and harmony."

The same thing has been expressed a little differently by Manuel Carpio, another newspaper man who knows the mind of his country. He says:

"Mexico is utterly deprived of financial resources with which to meet the elementary necessities of public administration. School teachers have been working almost without pay in many Mexican cities, where public schools have increased in number. Municipal administration in the new free city governments has been in a precarious state since the beginning of the new constitutional national administration. Manufacture and agri-

culture, the efficiency of which has been greatly impaired by the national upheaval, have not been able to provide sustenance for a large number of workers and have not been a satisfactory source of revenue for the national treasury.

On the other hand, the flow of oil out of Mexican territory has taken place in such tremendous quantities that it represents untold wealth, leaving the Mexican nation practically nothing as the product of that gigantic industry. The plan of nationalizing the Mexican oil fields was resorted to in the new Constitution with a view to raising a reasonable revenue for the benefit of the country, but there has been no intent or action on the part of the republic to 'grab American millions', as Senator Porter puts it. Mexico believes itself a free country, albeit not a powerful one. If it relinquishes all its rights to modify laws affecting its greatest national resource because of the claims of 'private property' and of 'concessions' to foreign enterprises, then it cannot call itself a nation, but will virtually become the property of these enterprises.

It is of paramount importance to note that there is really no purpose in the Mexican mind, however backward it may be rated by other minds, to take away from the owners the things that belong to them. There is only the purpose of obtaining from them, through necessary taxation, a proportional, and by no means high, revenue for the benefit of the country."

It has always seemed to me that the President's greatest fault was his ultra-nationalism. How far

he has thought this necessary to keep his own people with him, and how far it represents his own attitude, I am not sure. He has failed to accept many opportunities that the American Government and people have offered for the assistance of Mexico.

No one who knows him intimately, however, could doubt his profound respect and admiration for American civilization. He has shown himself especially fond of the American educational system. During his public life he has been the means of sending many scores of students and teachers to the United States to study her educational system. All through his life he has been a firm friend to American Protestant schools in Mexico. He has been at times severely criticized by his own people for showing marked friendship to certain American citizens. His most trusted counselors have been notably pro-American. An example of this was found recently when the relations with the American oil men in the Tampico District became acute and the President, as already stated, selected Dr. Andrés Osuna, a man who has lived in this country for many years and is a thorough admirer of American life, to become Military Governor of the State, in order to work out the problem with the American financiers.

President Carranza is an extremely hard worker. Most of all his waking hours are spent in the Na-

tional Palace. He does not live in the Chapultepec Palace, which he has every right to do, but in a modest home on the *Paseo de la Reforma*. His family makes no great effort at display. He maintains all around him a dignified, democratic atmosphere, and retains the simple habits of a plainsman. He often walks of mornings, accompanied by a friend, from his residence to the government palace, a distance of some mile and a half. He is a total abstainer from liquor and tobacco, and a disciplinarian in big as well as in these little things. He rises at five o'clock. His tall, wiry figure—he is more than six feet high—is set up like a soldier's, and a long gray beard below his smooth-shaven sunburned cheeks accentuates the dominating, patriarchal type of man that he is. That he keeps his word is illustrated by his refusal, in spite of all pressure, to run for the presidency a second time.

Carranza is a man of sturdy intellect, though he is not strictly of the "intellectual class," as it is understood in Latin-America. He is rather of the country gentleman type. However, he is a well-educated man. He reads the classics and delights in them. He is especially well versed in history. He knows not only every detail of the history of his own country, but he is well read in the history of ancient peoples and the development of modern states. From the standpoint of his gentlemanly

appearance and accomplishments, he would be as much at home in the White House at Washington as President Wilson would be in visiting the National Palace in Mexico.

What is President Carranza religiously? It is difficult to say. I suppose that he would say to the census-taker that he is a Catholic. Some have thought that he is a Protestant, because of his friendship toward the Protestant schools and his fondness for appointing Protestants to office. But he probably is neither a Protestant nor a Catholic, as these bodies would define a faithful member. He certainly is utterly out of sympathy with the Roman Catholic hierarchical system and its endeavor to control politics. He has never made any kind of confession of the Protestant faith. He believes in God, in Christ, in the Bible, and in the power of the Christian Church as a restraining and ennobling influence in society. He was not in favor of the radical restrictions on religion in the Constitution of 1917, and has recently proposed to Congress the amendment of these articles, as the Executive is permitted to do under the Mexican Constitution. Like most public men, he has been represented as very immoral in his personal life; but, having known him intimately for many years, knowing both his friends and his enemies, having taken some pains

to find out what manner of man he is, I am a firm believer in Venustiano Carranza as a man of clean life, of high moral purpose, intensely devoted, though sometimes mistaken in policy, to the interests of his country.

CHAPTER IV

WHAT MEXICANS THINK OF AMERICANS

In order to understand properly what Mexicans think of North Americans, we should inquire first what all Latin-Americans think of us. For, in all the discussion concerning the relations of the two countries, the fact that Mexicans are Latin-Americans—not Saxon-Americans—must be kept in mind. The Latin-Americans conserve two famous pictures of North Americans which are representative of the popular conceptions on the subject. One picture is found in a cartoon and the other in a poem. The cartoon, published in a Chilean paper, was based on the incident related to the collection of the Alsop claims by our State Department. When the time came for Chile to settle this account, Chile claimed she owed several million dollars less than the Alsop family wished to collect. Our State Department was asked to demand full payment of this sum. This Chile refused, but said she was willing to submit the matter to arbitration. The State Department said it was not a matter to be arbitrated, and threatened to withdraw our Minister immediately if the full

claim was not settled. The cartoon growing out of this incident pictured an American as a great, tall, portly gentleman, with silk hat, frock coat, big diamond in the front of his shirt, and a gold-headed cane. He was saying to a little boy, "My son, get to thyself riches—with honesty, if it may be—but by all means get to thyself riches." This cartoon was applauded all over Latin-America as an expression of the way they look on North Americans.

For a long time after coming into close contact with Latin-Americans, I resented hotly this accusation that we Americans cared more for the dollars than for anything else. But since I have studied the records of our State Department, which show how most of our dealings with those countries have been in connection with insuring a clear road for our investors, I have not found it at all difficult to understand the viewpoint of our neighbors. Some one said recently: "Don't get excited about our going to war with Mexico. It took the sinking of the *Lusitania*, with the loss of the lives of hundreds of our citizens, and a score of insults before we would go to war with even the arch-enemy of humanity, Germany." True, but our property interests were not at stake. Property has always been a most sacred thing to Anglo-Saxons. The loss of American lives in Mexico, which might be expected during so much fighting, will not be the reason for our intervening

there. It may well serve as the pretext and other lives yet might be lost, in order so to complicate the situation as to compel every loyal American to defend with his life the honor of his country. But the real reason for our making war on Mexico, if we do, will be in order to protect American investors. Of course the great majority of our people would not knowingly consent to make war for that reason. But it would not take a great deal more misrepresentation by the American press about the chaos that exists in Mexico than we now have, if there were only another sensational border raid or two, quite easily arranged, to make the majority honestly vote such a war "for the good of Mexico." Only years afterward, just as it has proved with our first war with Mexico, would we come to realize the injustice involved.

The American people are as a whole, as Henri Bergson has recently said, the most idealistic people in the world. The hundred incidents, where the power of this great nation has been put behind our investors in forcing certain actions on Latin-American governments, have never been heard of by one-tenth of one per cent of our people and they do not represent the majority. But these acts have had the same drastic effect and have given rise to the same hatred and suspicion of our whole people, as if they had been voted for by every American citizen. Of course such

incidents do not appear in our literature, save in dusty archives. But let one talk with Latin-Americans and read their "best sellers" and he will be astounded at references to scores of these matters, concerning which he has never heard.

President Wilson has intimated something of the effects of this diplomacy in the following words:

"There is one peculiarity about the history of the Latin-American States of which I am sure they are keenly aware. You hear of 'concessions' to foreign capitalists in Latin-America. You do not hear of concessions granted to foreign capitalists in the United States. They are not granted concessions. They are invited to make investments. The work is ours, though they are welcome to invest in it. We do not ask them to supply the capital and do the work. It is an invitation, not a privilege; and states that are obliged, because their territory does not lie within the main field of modern enterprise and action, to grant concessions are in this condition, that *foreign interests are apt to dominate their domestic affairs, a condition of affairs always dangerous and apt to become intolerable.*"

It was this intolerable dominance of foreign capitalists in the affairs of Latin-Americans that caused Rubén Darío, the greatest of Latin-American poets, to write the poem to which I have referred. A few lines of this poem follow:

" 'Tis only with the Bible and Walt Whitman's
verse,

That you the mighty hunter are reached by other men.

You're primitive and modern, you're simple and complex,

A veritable Nimrod, with aught of Washington.

You are the United States.

You are the future foe

Of free America that keeps its Indian blood,

That prays to Jesus Christ, and speaks in Spanish still.

You are a fine example of a strong and haughty race.

The United States are rich; they're powerful and great;

They join the cult of Mammon or that of Hercules,

And when they stir or roar the very Andes shake.

And though you count on all, one thing is lacking—God!"¹

Manuel Ugarte, in his book, "*El Porvenir de la America Latina*", says:

"It is evident that nothing attracts us toward our neighbors of the north. By her origin, her education, and her spirit, South America is essentially European. We feel ourselves akin to Spain, to whom we owe our civilization, and whose fire we carry in our blood; to France, source and origin of the thought that animates us; to England, who sends us her gold freely; to Germany, who supplies us with her manufactures; and to Italy, who gives

¹ Version of E. C. Hills.

us the arms of her sons to wrest from the soil the wealth which is to distribute itself over the world. But to the United States we are united by no ties but those of distrust and fear."

Calderón, the ambassador of Peru to France, in his book "Latin America, Its Rise and Progress," referring to Pan-American Congresses, says:

"The Iberian nations confess publicly their enthusiasm for Pan-Americanism, as does the Yankee Republic its spiritual enthusiasm. Platonic declarations are succeeded by useless promises. The desired fusion of Saxons and Latins does not advance. In Buenos Aires, Americo Lugo, a delegate from the Plains, denounces the expansion of the North. In dailies and magazines, eloquent thinkers condemn these rhetorical organizations which preach union while Saxon ambition dismembers Panama, agitates Nicaragua, and overturns Mexico. . . Will they not be able to make a declaration in the future limiting the amount of European capital which can be invested in each republic, or determine the numerical importance of the current of immigration? Thus successful, they would impose on free peoples a hard tutelage. For moral suasion they will substitute an imperative catechism."

Those words, of course, were written before the World War. I must say that in my last trip through South America, in 1917, I found a change in her attitude toward us, largely due, of course, to our entrance into the War. Latin-Americans

now say: "For the first time in your history, we see that you are idealistic. We see that you have been willing to renounce certain profits on munitions and other things, in order that you might go into a war to make the world safe for democracy." When in Chile, in 1914, I heard on every hand unpleasant references to the United States. The students of the universities were particularly hostile. This time, when I called upon a professor in the National University, I was asked to address one of his English classes and later on, another, till I found myself giving a whole morning of talks. These led to a conference at one of the big theaters, secured for the occasion by the university students. The theme they wanted me to discuss was, "How to Develop Closer Relations between the United States and Chile." At the close of the lecture a full hour was spent answering their eager and pointed questions. I spoke very frankly, analyzing the good and bad in the Anglo-Saxon and the Latin, pointing out why each had failed to understand the other in the past. That session with these brilliant young people was a most delightful experience. Their hunger for knowledge of North American life, particularly concerning our universities, was amazing and refreshing.

In Pernambuco I met accidentally the director of the law school that has trained the leaders of northern Brazil for half a century. He invited

me to give an address to the students on "Closer Intellectual Relationships between the Two Americas." This occasion became quite a demonstration of international friendliness, the official life of the city being represented.

In Paraguay our party of four North Americans was taken in hand by the National Director of Public Instruction, our entertainment being directed by the Government. These people showed in many ways their real desire for friendship with the United States.

The following editorial, published July 4, 1917, in a leading daily of Buenos Aires, shows what the entrance of the United States into the War did toward changing this attitude:

"The circumstances in which we find ourselves today on this anniversary of the North American nation serve to define a double principle of Americanism and democracy. This celebration in other years has been an occasion for rejoicing only for the United States. She could with patriotic joy stop in her march and contemplate with satisfaction the road traveled since the days of that memorable declaration. . . . Other people joined the celebration with a cordiality more official and diplomatic than real.

Today all is different. The United States, by the power of that great republican virtue which is the supporter of the right, is for the whole world not only a nation engaged in a knightly war, but an apostle in action. Some four years ago the Latin

author, Rubén Darío, was able to say, led astray by superficial observations, that the United States, which had everything, lacked but one thing—God. Today this can not be said, for the crusade of the United States and the serene and eloquent words of Wilson have a religious character, now that they intimate the abandonment and disregard of material interests in the face of the defense of the ideal.

Quietly, without the sound of trumpets or noise, the United States has entered the contest, and thus it returns to noble France the generous contribution of that great Frenchman, Lafayette, the American national hero. If America stands for anything in the world and in history, it is liberty. Other peoples have been formed by reason of conquest, or of religion, but the Americans were born out of the idea of liberty. In this sentiment is found the unity of San Martín, Bolívar, and Washington. It matters little that history registers this or that disturbance, and this or that variation. That is the sentiment, and that is the thing that, after conquering all cruel tyrannies and retrogressive seditions, has overcome all.

So in the awful conflict which today is shaking the world, the United States is bearing the burden of all America, because she is on the side of liberty. She is the big sister in years and in power among the American nations. This place belongs to her, and worthily has she taken it."

For the first time in the history of a South American nation, Brazil openly declared that the prime reason for her taking a serious political step was to follow the leadership of the United States.

In her note to the other South American powers, announcing the breaking of relationships with Germany, she said:

"Brazil has never had, nor has it now, warlike ambitions. If it has heretofore abstained from taking sides in the European conflict, it has not been able to continue indifferent since the United States has been drawn into the War without any further motives than simply those of action in the name of international justice and order. . . . If up to the present the relative lack of reciprocity on the part of the American republics has deprived the Monroe Doctrine of its real character, permitting an interpretation scarcely founded on the prerogative of sovereignty, the present conditions place Brazil at the side of the United States of America at this critical moment in the history of the world, and continue to give our political relationships a practical form of continental solidarity."

In the same way Panama, in its recent declaration of war, said that, "Neutrality is impossible in a conflict where the vital interests of the United States are involved," and Cuba, Bolivia, Paraguay, and other countries have given voice to similar sentiments.

The recent visit of the North American fleet under the command of Admiral Caperton to South American waters has promoted these

friendly relations in a remarkable way. In order that the fleet might visit Montevideo when Uruguay had not yet broken relations with the Central Powers, the Government promulgated the following special decree, which will no doubt be of great weight in future international relationships in America: "It is hereby declared that no American nation will be considered as a belligerent which is in a state of war in defense of its rights against any nation outside of America."

So Latin-Americans have been turned to us in a new and remarkable way in the last two years. They are now keenly interested to see whether we will continue to show our idealism or whether we will be encouraged by our remarkable military victory to drop into a still more threatening attitude toward our small neighbors. Those living in the United States are already becoming impressed by the talk like the following, which is all too common: "Oh, it was all right during the War, when we needed to arouse patriotism, to talk of fighting to make the world safe for Democracy. But that was only a war cry. We all know we were in the War to protect ourselves." If we are to slip down into materialism, take advantage of our power to exploit others, plan intervention in the affairs of our next-door neighbor, and throw our oppressive hand over Latin-America, then we can not expect anything but that Latin-America

will swing again in opposition to us, and, of course, the last state will be worse than the first.

Turning directly to the Latin-American country we are now discussing, Mexico, let us take first a brief glance at the historic relations with our next-door neighbor, considering first those of a diplomatic character. At the beginning these promised to be cordial from our standpoint, for we sympathized with the youthful republic to the south that had recently thrown off the Spanish yoke. But from the other side there were certain disadvantages. Spanish colonies had not been allowed to trade with any countries except Spain. Both the Government and the Church wanted to keep out outside influence; they did not want the *status quo* of the people to be disturbed; so no new thoughts or heretical ideas of government, especially from the United States, were allowed to enter. Our first diplomatic representative to Mexico, Joel R. Poinsett, appointed in 1825, accordingly had a difficult position. Fortunately he was a cultured gentleman, spoke Spanish as well as the Mexicans themselves, and was a polished diplomat. But in the maze of Mexican politics he made wrong impressions, came to be regarded with suspicion, and in a little while withdrew, leaving a great deal of prejudice against the United States and a feeling that some day Mexico would have to fight us.

Our second minister, Anthony Butler, was a bluffer and a rascal. He was found to be interested in some lands over in Texas at the same time that he was proposing to Mexico that the United States should buy that state. He insisted on this transaction a good while after Mexico gave him to understand that it was not acceptable. His troubles thickened and finally, after insulting a Mexican cabinet officer, he retired in disgrace, it having been proved in both Mexico and the United States that he was absolutely dishonest. About 1835 and 1836, there developed certain claims by Americans on account of the destruction of American property by Mexicans during incessant political turmoil. President Jackson asked for a commission to be appointed to adjust matters. This commission was appointed and worked five or six years without getting much satisfaction, Mexico blocking the matter with many diplomatic maneuvers.

The separation of Texas from Mexico came in 1836. Though the United States was not responsible for this, Mexico naturally thought she was, inasmuch as Texas was largely settled by United States citizens. After refuting the charges specifically, Daniel Webster said: "The conduct of the Government of the United States, in regard to the war between Mexico and Texas, having always hitherto been governed by a strict and impartial

regard to its neutral obligations, will not be changed or altered in any respect or in any degree." If the United States had the best of that diplomatic bout, it was far different in the next, which resulted in Tyler's annexation treaty with Texas.

Shannon, our next minister, went down with the difficult duty of informing Mexico concerning this fact. He was a first-class politician at home, but no diplomat for a foreign land. He so bungled his mission that one of the papers of the United States called for his return home that it might measure his ears to see how long they were. The Mexican Minister of Foreign Affairs, an artist in framing phrases, after putting poor Shannon in the most ridiculous light, caused Mexico to break off relations fair and square with the United States. So ended the first chapter, with little satisfaction on either side. Then came the Mexican War. This was the most unfortunate event in all our national life. Most of our historians agree that the Mexican War was an unjust, unfair, political contest. We took about one-half of Mexico's territory, for which we paid \$15,000,000. A little later we bought more territory for \$10,000,000 to add to what had been taken. That war, of course, was the greatest of all the causes of the distrust of the United States on the part of Mexico.

Relations did not improve greatly between the two countries following the war, until Lincoln

came into the presidency. He instructed our minister to go to Mexico and show an attitude of cordiality, frankness, friendship, and even magnanimity. At that time Juarez was making his tremendous struggles against the reactionary forces, and disorder reigned in Mexico. Later Maximilian, supported by the French Emperor and the Papacy, endeavored to establish his empire. Juarez vigorously opposed this effort.

After the close of the Civil War, the Monroe Doctrine was invoked by Secretary of State Seward who informed Napoleon that his French troops must be retired, and they were. For that reason, Juarez was able to conquer Maximilian, regain the Mexican capital, and restore the national government. Thus the United States enabled Mexico to save herself from foreign domination at the only time when she was seriously threatened. This was a big, fine service, the bright and shining star in the clouded sky of our relationships. Mexicans are profoundly appreciative of it.

Following Juarez came Diaz with his endeavor to bring into Mexico foreign capital, especially American. Some English capital had been invested in Mexico already. Beginning in 1824, John Taylor had appealed in an interesting pamphlet to the British public for such investment. The first railroad in Mexico was built by British capital from Vera Cruz to Mexico City.

When the question arose of allowing American capital to build railroads connecting Mexico with the United States, there was serious consideration of the matter, which shows that dread of the overwhelming strength of the United States which has always possessed the Mexican mind. Don Pablo Macedo, in his book on "Mexico and the United States" tells of the conferences which preceded the adoption of the railroad policy in Mexico. He says:

"In deciding on the gauge the truth is that the question was discussed, whether or not they should accept the gauge adopted by their neighbors of the Northern Republic. It was a consideration of the gravest moment, and transcended all others. No one, and still less statesmen of the status of Señor Lerdo de Tejada, has ever been blind to the danger that we run from the nearness of our colossal neighbor on the north. In comparison with the United States—more's the pity—we must confess that we then figured, and we still do, as a mere pigmy. Besides this the sad memory of the iniquitous war of 1847, which cost us the half of our territory, is more than enough cause to excite uneasiness and even dread. Such apprehension is certainly not unreasonable or groundless. As a consequence, the distinct object of our international policy has necessarily always been, in the first place, to grow by natural expansion, to fortify our national organisms, and then to seek from the other side of the Atlantic a support which alone can be efficacious by creating, acclimatizing, and strengthening European interests and elements. Unfortunately,

the unjustifiable French intervention, obliging us to sustain a war *a l'outrance* in order to preserve our very existence as a nation, interrupted our organic development, and not only weakened our position, physically, through the material sacrifices which we had to make, but morally, by creating divisions greater than had previously existed. The blood of Maximilian created an abyss between Europe and Mexico. His death, though it may have been the only means, sad as it was, of securing internal peace, estranged the sympathies of those nations which then exercised preponderating influence in Europe."

Although we did not recognize the Diaz Government for two years, he did not hold that against us, and his invitation to American capital and American missionaries soon put the two countries on the most cordial terms they had ever enjoyed. We built railroads and opened mines, and for twenty-five years we had very cordial relations with Mexico, at least as far as diplomacy was concerned. Then came the turbulent time of recent years, beginning with the Madero Revolution in 1910, since which our diplomacy has been turned topsy turvy.

Without taking into account the last few years, we can see by the review of the hundred years preceding that relations have been a series of misunderstandings. I have already referred to the struggle of the financial interests of the United

States and England over oil wells in Mexico, Madero favoring American interests and Diaz favoring English interests, and the fact that this feeling was so acute that some people thought that it was the whole explanation of the fight between Madero and Diaz. Our diplomatic relations suffered no break during that revolution and continued cordial on into Madero's presidency, although the latter claimed that our ambassador, Henry Lane Wilson, was in sympathy with the reactionaries.

In February, 1913, Felix Diaz and Bernardo Reyes broke jail in Mexico City, where they had been imprisoned as leaders of a rebellion against Madero, and placed themselves at the head of the rebel forces representing the old Diaz group. Huerta was entrusted with the command of the Madero troops. In order to stop the fighting, which continued for ten days, a conference was held in the American Embassy with the American Ambassador present, and Huerta agreed to turn traitor to Madero, who was made prisoner and afterward shot. An inside and moving story of those terrible days ("La decena tragica") has been written by Sr. Marcos Sterling, then Cuban Minister in Mexico. The President and Vice-President of Mexico were put to death on February 22.

If our diplomatic relations with the Diaz régime were very smooth, the Mexican people were led in

many cases to dislike the American more than ever because the latter seemed to be receiving all the favors. Take the case of the railroads. When the United States built the Mexican railroads, the Americans went over to run them. For a long time all the engineers, conductors, brakemen, and firemen were Americans, while the Mexicans were used only in inferior positions. But the time came when the Mexicans wanted better places. They had learned in the shops how to run engines and wanted the jobs. The Americans naturally wanted to retain their positions and claimed that Mexicans did not have sufficient intelligence and training to carry the responsibilities. The Americans refused to have train orders given them except in the English language. When the Mexican Government finally bought fifty-one per cent of the stock they took the stand that, when a Mexican and an American were equally qualified for a position, the Mexican should have it. The Americans resigned in a body, two or three thousand of them leaving on the same day for the United States. Much hard feeling was engendered over this struggle. The Mexicans, on the one hand, thought they had more reason than ever for charging the Americans with selfishness, and the Americans, on the other, came to have less confidence than ever in the country and its people.

Unfortunately, one source of prejudice against us is the number of Americans who are living in Mexico because they could not live in the United States. We have had a great many Americans who could not explain why they were in Mexico. Naturally, they do not contribute anything to close friendship between the two peoples. I was on the train recently with an American who was telling about Americans being persecuted and ill-treated everywhere in Mexico. The tourists were taking it all in until he came to American politics. But there he showed he had entirely missed all that the modern world is teaching. His listeners saw immediately that he was hopelessly reactionary. But as long as he was discussing the Mexican question the people were taking it for granted he was an absolute authority on the subject, for he had lived there. Even our magazines publish articles written by such men who know nothing of national development in their own country or any other, have no historic background whatever, and look at the whole matter from the standpoint of whether their countrymen in Mexico have as good jobs as formerly.

This and kindred matters are well interpreted from the standpoint of the Mexicans by May Austin, who says:

"The items of the Constitutionalists' program at which vested interests take alarm are, of course,

the reform of mining and land laws and the land tax system. Mexico in the past has been not only the land of *poco tiempo*, but the paradise of special privilege. And the man who has looked upon Mexico as a place to make twenty-five per cent on his investment is the one who thinks that the only thing we can do is to go in there and run things ourselves.

Such people are always in a hurry. They don't know that a reconstructed Mexico will be any the worse for their business, but they don't want to take time to readjust themselves, to learn to operate under a new system. In their hurry these absentee investors are supported by the Americans who live in Mexico and work their properties themselves, who, without having any particular quarrel with the revolutionists, are impatient at the delays and vexations which keep them from their means of making a living. These people differ in their ideas of how the pacification of Mexico can be best accomplished, but they all agree in one thing—they want it done quickly, and if that is the quickest way they are willing it should be done with a sand-bag. Their chief objection to the Carranza way is that it will take time. And to the prevailing American cult of 'right now' this appears a reasonable objection.

We hear a great deal of the disqualification of the Mexican temperament for dealing with national values, its incontinence, its quick shifts of enthusiasm. But there is a much greater menace to the situation in the American temperament, with its impatience of delay, its refusal to deal with conditions a little less than obvious.

It is true that the terms on which mines and plantations can be worked in Mexico are not going to be quite the same under the Carrancistas. The whole tenor of the new laws, too complex to go into in detail, is to make it unprofitable to hold unworked mining claims and uncultivated lands. This is true not only for foreign investors, but for their own capitalists also. Wages and taxes are both going to be higher. Wages and taxes will go up with the process of nationalization. And whether or not the present régime maintains itself, it is highly desirable that the process of nationalization should go on in Mexico.

It must always be borne in mind that what has been going on there is an economic revolution. The Constitutionalist are men who have learned by heart the lesson that national wealth doesn't necessarily imply national welfare. That was the mistake Diaz made. That he made it with a degree of sincerity did not keep him from the unpleasant consequences of his people's finding out that it was a mistake. There are not wanting signs that even America is not as satisfied with her apportionment of wealth and welfare as she used to be. It will come as a shock in some quarters, but it has to be admitted that First Chief Carranza and his *compadres* don't want our system foisted upon Mexico, because they jolly well don't approve."

The uncouth tourist is another sort of American who has certainly done his part to prejudice Mexicans against us. Stories like the following could be duplicated by the scores by the average Mexi-

can. Two tourists, walking by a magnificent Mexican home which, as usual, is built right up to the sidewalk, see the front door open and a piano inside. They walk in and look around and then sit down and play the piano, talking all the time of how surprised they are to see that Mexicans have pianos and never supposing that their English is understood by the cultured but enraged lady of the house, whom they had not deigned to notice. An American woman of a rather confirmed brunette type was standing in her window opening on the sidewalk and several tourists stopped and looked her over, making all kind of remarks about her clothes, house, and other things, supposing, that, of course, no one in that far-off country spoke English. Just as I am writing these lines a friend tells me of returning from Mexico with some American tourists, who as a part of a commercial excursion, had been entertained in a most elaborate manner by Government and people in all parts of the Republic. The train arrived at the border station on the return to the United States about 2 a. m., but passengers were allowed to stay in the Pullman till daylight. They were awakened, however, by a loud-voiced tourist calling for a corkscrew. He was very much put out by the Mexican porter's slowness in producing it, and in tones that all the passengers, many of them cultured Mexicans who speak English, could hear, he

said to his companion: "There are two things I could never understand why the Lord made—mosquitos and Mexicans."

The ill treatment received by Mexicans in this country is another thing which has thrown doubt in the Mexican mind on our protestations of democracy. The difficulty with which these people, who live in large numbers in the southwest, get justice in our courts, schooling for their children, and any kind of social life, is more fully known to their compatriots in Mexico than it is to American people who do not live in the midst of these conditions.

Reference has already been made to the prejudice and even hatred engendered in the Mexicans by the misrepresentations of the American press and by addresses of our public men. Everyone who speaks publicly on Mexico in this country should realize that his utterances will be reported in Mexico and, if offensive, will be played up by interested parties in the most prominent way. A slightly different angle of this question is seen in the discussions recently in Congress and our papers concerning our buying of Lower California and the Mexicans' selling land to the Japanese. The first is, as Ambassador Bonillas said, not long ago, like the story of the bells. The citizens of a certain town got very much excited over the discussion as to whether the bells should be rung as

a part of a celebration planned. "But," said someone, finally, "there are no bells in the town." Why should Congressmen continue to talk about buying Lower California, when Mexico will not sell it? We estimate the Mexican very wrongly when we think he cares more for money than for national honor. The latter is the dearest possession he has. Granted that his interpretation of it doesn't always agree with ours, it is there, however, and our failure to recognize it explains why we have so often failed in our diplomacy. Among all the crimes of Santa Anna, none looms so large to the average Mexican as his selling us a part of what is now Texas. Recent political storms would be like a summer zephyr compared with the one that would be started by the proposal of the authorities to sell any of their national territory, and neither Carranza nor any other leader would dare propose such a thing even if he should desire it.

The same statement applies to the matter of selling land that would give the Japanese Government power in Mexico. There is a clause in the Constitution which prevents selling land, within one hundred kilometers of the border, to foreigners. This whole matter of Mexico's reported tendency to ally herself with Japan is one of those things which make fine publicity material for certain American interests, but have no basis in fact. There are less than 3,000 Japanese in Mexico and

no proof whatever has been produced that the Mexican Government has ever had secret dealings with the Japanese Government in order to give it special privileges in America. Such stories are tremendously annoying to Mexicans, who believe it is an evidence of the American's lack of honor that he will attack the good name of a neighbor in order to carry his own point in politics.

Many times when we have tried to help the Mexican he has thought we were trying to insult him. The psychology of the two peoples is so different—the American worships truth and action, the Mexican politeness and form. The “naked truth” of the Saxon must be dressed to become attractive to the Latin, and the “brutal frankness” of the former is more of a crime to the latter than is a friendly deception. In the mouth of a Mexican the famous expression of Clay might become: “I had rather be polite than President.” He likes you if you are “*simpático*,” appreciative of his feelings and accomplishments, kind to his family, polite to his friends, and if you enthuse over his country and respect his “*dignidad*,” personal and national. “*Dignidad*” is his own greatest possession. Failure to respect it is the explanation of the failure of many a well-intentioned effort of Americans to help him. Witness the failure of our Red Cross expedition, blocked everywhere because the Mexican would rather starve than have

his starving condition advertised to the world in an appeal for funds to help him. The American Commissioners at Atlantic City got nowhere, in spite of their earnest desire to help Mexico, because the Mexicans could do nothing to remedy practical conditions until national "*dignidad*" was saved by the removal of foreign troops from their soil. Politeness and sympathy, with respect for his dignity, will open any door of the Mexican. But he had rather starve himself and his family and let his whole country go to rack and ruin than "receive charity." The big-hearted, loud-voiced, insistent, efficient foreign philanthropist has no place in Mexico.

Calderón puts the matter thus:

"There is nothing more difficult to manage than the *amour propre* of the nations of the south, who look upon any kind of interference as a menace to their independence. They would choose anarchy, destruction even, rather than suffer the unlawful intrusion of any foreign power which ventured to interfere in the internal affairs of a free country. North Americans have often forgotten this attitude of their 'brothers' of the south. Likewise, with no consideration for their tempestuous pride, they have carried their influence in southern matters to the point of provoking violent outbursts of nationalism. They make parade of their superiority, and the South Americans, proud of their traditions and their ancient cities, revolt

angrily against the wise counsels of the protecting nation.

Like all Latins, the South Americans have a feeling for form and respect for the proprieties. They are naturally subtle and Byzantine. Nothing ruffles them more than the rudeness of Washington politicians, who scarcely take pains to disguise a certain contempt for these inferior and turbulent peoples. Mr. Roosevelt cynically says, 'I took Panama'. He believes in the efficacy of the 'big stick' in the relations between the two Americas. He is scarcely a psychologist in these matters. It is far easier to get what one wants from these Latin democracies through flattering proposals, through courteous replies, through a delicate, nicely-shaded diplomacy."

Probably the one thing that irritates the educated Mexican more than all other things about our attitude is the general failure to recognize that Mexico has its cultured classes, who are as well educated and have as beautiful homes and as fine a social life as will be found in any part of the world. They think the American is very unfair in judging all Mexicans by the peon workman that ordinarily emigrates to this country.

In fact, when one counts up all the grievances that Mexicans have against Americans, the exploiting of the people by certain American capitalists, the insults from Americans living in and outside the country, the continuous misrepresentation by our press, and many other things, he is

surprised that there is as much friendship for Americans as there is. But this is because he has forgotten the other side of the shield of relations. The thousands of good Americans who have lived in Mexico, learned the language of the people, come to appreciate their good points, made the most intimate friendships with Mexicans, and publicly declare they had rather live in Mexico than any other country in the world, have done more than it is possible to estimate to offset the bad impressions already referred to. Many American firms and individual business men have been real missionaries to the people, with their introduction of better wages, improved machinery, welfare work, schools, and better housing for their employes. It has become pretty general that Mexicans prefer to work for American firms and under American foremen, because they are more sure of right treatment than under their own people.

The American school teachers who have been unselfishly working in many parts of the country for many years have done much to show the Mexicans that Americans generally are a likable, sympathetic people and entirely desirous of maintaining friendly relations with their neighbors. Then the fact that our Government has not intervened in Mexico, when many of the Mexicans themselves recognize there was sufficient excuse from the

standpoint of European governments, has counteracted much of the harm of intervention talk.

These things explain the reason for such a statement as the following by Señor Pasqueira, one of the Constitutionalist leaders:

"Some of the press would have the public believe that there exists a sentiment of underlying hostility towards Americans. That is untrue. Throughout the country Americans are held in higher esteem than any other class of foreigners, and the laborer will invariably seek employment from them rather than from Europeans, not because they pay higher wages, but because of their reputation for fair treatment; and I venture to assert, on the highest authority, that since this war began, not one American citizen has lost his life because of his nationality. Some have been killed in personal quarrels and barroom brawls, such as take place daily in New York, for instance; some have been killed because of their presence in the line of fire during engagements, and some have been murdered by thieves. But I repeat that no persons have been killed because they were Americans. The Constitutionals, I may add, entertain a deep appreciation of the kindly sentiments that their cause has awakened among the thoughtful people of the United States, to whom treason was ever odious and to whom constitutional rights are so dear. We appreciate, too, the spirit of fairness that led the President to raise the embargo on the exportation of arms and munitions of war, and if we have not demonstrated our gratitude, it is because there has been no fitting

opportunity to do so. Nor have we Mexicans forgotten Seward and the degree of moral support he gave President Juarez in his noble struggle for democratic government against the reactionaries who sought to impose on Mexico a monarchy."

The best judgment of reliable Americans and my own experience during the Revolution agree entirely with the above statement, that neither Carranza nor his responsible officers have ever attacked or persecuted Americans because they were Americans.

There were two instances during the Revolution of Americans being turned upon. First, Villa singled out the Americans for attack, after we had carried him around on our shoulders as a great hero for months and then had turned against him in favor of Carranza. Nothing else could have been expected from one of his low instincts. The other instance of hostility to Americans was the general order which Huerta gave at the time of our taking Vera Cruz, to have all Americans in Mexico arrested. Many outstanding Americans, including our consular officers, were thrown into jail and kept there until released by Carranza authorities, who afterward captured the towns where they were imprisoned.

General Hanna, Consul General for northern Mexico, told me how he was seized by the Huerta authorities in Monterrey and at first was made to

walk through the streets toward the penitentiary. The poor people, whom he had befriended so many times, giving them food and clothing and much other help, risked their lives by demanding that the military forces at least get a carriage for the general. When he was taken to the state prison the old keeper blazed out in anger, saying to the general's captors, "This is no place for General Hanna. He is one of my dearest friends, as he is the friend of every Mexican. I will not receive him in this penitentiary. You must find another place if you want to put him in prison." The general was therefore taken to the new state house, where he occupied a magnificent reception hall as his prison. While the room was very beautiful, it was not entirely comfortable, since there were mounted above him a number of cannon, and the enemy was trying to dislodge them with artillery from the nearby hills. This lasted only a few hours, however, when the Huerta forces withdrew and the revolutionists came in and occupied the city. He was left practically the sole occupant of the state house for several hours. Thus originated the story that General Hanna was threatened with death, and a few hours later was made governor of the state.

The few Americans who were in the City of San Luis Potosi gathered in the English consulate. For two or three days they were hissed at when

they went along the streets, and the cry of "*Mueran los gringos*" was frequently heard. Reports were circulated that several Americans had been shot, and terror reigned in the whole colony for three days. However, it turned out that none had been hurt. This was the only time when the Americans in San Luis felt in danger.

No American who has been through the Revolution and seen many homes of his fellow-citizens broken up and many families lose their all and have to make their way to the United States on charity funds, or who sees them today still in Mexico, old and broken with hope gone, can help sympathizing most profoundly with such suffering. But as one reads history, he cannot fail to realize also that they are not unique among those whom war has overtaken, either in a foreign land or in their own.

Much has been made of a list of 285 Americans killed in Mexico from 1910 to 1916. We mourn the loss of this large number of fellow-countrymen. But that list does not prove at all that there has been any hostility to Americans as Americans by the government, which after so many years of fighting, and often of chaos and anarchy, has finally come into power. When we are considering the killing of these 285 Americans during six years of terrible civil war, it would be well to remember that in the year 1918 in this great country of ours

more than 100 people were lynched, many of whom have later been shown to be innocent of any crime. In the same connection, too, we may well consider the following facts brought out by George Marvin in an article in *World's Work*. In discussing the ill treatment of Mexicans in Texas and the matter of bandits on both sides of the international border, he says:

"Before the Army took over the job, the borderland was patrolled by rangers. Some of these rangers have degenerated into common man-killers. There is no penalty for killing, for no jury along the border would ever convict a white man for shooting a Mexican. Their ranks are swelled by so-called deputy sheriffs. Some of these men are responsible citizens, but others are unstrung gunmen, who are just as much a menace to the peace and good order of the borderland as are the bandits for whose extinction they exist.

The killing of Mexicans that has been going on through the borderland in these last four years is almost incredible. General Carranza still wants to know if we have done anything about bringing to trial the executioners of 114 Mexicans believed to have been innocently killed on our side of the line. But there are a great many more than 114 Mexicans good and bad lying dead, and some of them unburied, north of the line. Reading over the Secret Service records makes you feel almost as though there were an open game season on Mexicans along the border. Underneath all, a racial prejudice exists fully as strong as the Negro situa-

tion in our southeastern states, and on top of that you must put the irresponsibility of sheriffs, deputies, and rangers.

The disgraceful truth persists that a great many so-called bandits are and have been for a long time very useful agents in smuggling operations. Some border Texans will tell you that a Mexican is like an Indian, there is no good one but a dead one. But Mexico and the border states contain hundreds and thousands of good Mexicans, a great many of whom have been terrorized off their thrifty farms. It is a great surprise to find along the border that very just Mexican grievances exist against us. We have been so occupied in cherishing our own grievances, and equally just injuries, that we haven't been able to see their Mexican corollaries."

Passing over many other interesting phases of recent events which have had their effect on the regard of Mexicans for Americans, we come to the test of the World War. President Carranza took the attitude that the struggle was one in which the Mexicans should remain neutral, first because it did not seem to him, just as it did not seem to America in the beginning, to involve any question in which the nation had a direct interest; and further, because Mexico had just been through a long struggle, her national resources were exhausted, and she needed all her strength to restore her national life. There has never been any real evidence produced that Carranza himself deviated from this neutral path. He may have believed at

one time, as some of his friends say, that Germany would win, and for this reason allowed his Secretary of the Interior, the editor of the official daily paper, and other prominent officials to display the friendly attitude toward Germany which has disgraced them. But those who know Carranza best do not believe that he was either pro-German himself or ever had any dealings with the German Government with a view to opposing the Allies in the war.

Probably in no other country in the world, with the exception of Spain, was German propaganda so insistent. Competent authorities reckon that in the single matter of subsidizing twenty-three newspapers and supplying free news print and free telegraph service, \$50,000 a month was spent. Our readers will realize in what fallow ground much of this propaganda fell. Full page advertisements were run, showing on the one hand what Mexico would lose in territory and prestige if the United States won and on the other hand what would be the advantages to Mexico in increased territory and commercial advantages if Germany won. Editorials from our papers and speeches by our Congressmen who favored intervention were translated and used to support these arguments.

But there was a very large counter-propaganda by Mexicans who were friends of France and the United States. Practically every governor of the

twenty-seven Mexican states was pro-Ally. Many movements in favor of the United States which have never been reported in this country were organized. One of the most efficient and widespread was the Allied Club, with headquarters in Saltillo. It counted more than 12,000 members, from the states of Chihuahua, Coahuila, Nuevo Leon, and Tamaulipas. Governor Mireles, of Coahuila, was the honorary president. A young Englishwoman was engaged as the secretary. The membership represented the leading young element of all of these states. They accomplished great good, by opening reading rooms, by supplying the members with correct information about Allied victories, and by pointing out in the clearest kind of way the misrepresentations of the Germans. When the German submarines attacked boats near the American coast, the club sent a letter of protest to our Government, signed by 2,000 people, offering any help that they could possibly give. Recognizing that Mexico was a very poor country and they could offer practically nothing, yet this club informed our Government that the Allied sympathizers in Mexico would undertake to keep order on the border of Mexico, so that the soldiers who were assigned to this duty might be released to fight for democracy in France.

The Committee on Public Information of the United States did a magnificent piece of work in

Mexico. It made any American's heart swell with pride to go into the reading rooms they conducted in several of the leading cities and see the large number of readers, and to know of the crowds in the English classes taught free by many of the leading American women of the community. When the armistice was signed, the German Embassy endeavored to cause the impression that "Germany had presented peace to the world." But the Committee on Public Information never stopped till it had put the fact of Germany's absolute defeat and utter humiliation before every town and hamlet in the whole Republic.

Thanks to the thorough work of the Committee no American ever need worry, because, as some have intimated in the past, the Mexicans believe they could whip the United States. If that deception ever existed in the minds of the Mexicans, it has been eradicated entirely by their thorough understanding of the tremendous accomplishments of this country in the World War.

The work of the Committee on Public Information is so interesting that it is worth while to quote the following from its final report:

"It is a significant fact, and one which redounds to the credit of the reputable, honorable journalists of Mexico, that during the war there was not a single newspaper or periodical in the Republic which pleaded the German cause that was self-

sustaining. All were subsidized with German gold. On the other hand, there was not one pro-American-Ally newspaper or periodical which was *not* self-sustaining. The Mexico Section, directly or indirectly, did not subsidize any publication. . . . From the outset it was assumed that the Mexican press and public, or at least that portion of it which was not debauched by German money and German lies, was fair and receptive. This was almost instantaneously proved. We worked always in the open. Official notice was served upon the Mexican Government of the establishment of the offices of the Committee in the City of Mexico and of the purpose of the Committee in extending its operations into Mexico. We hid nothing from public view. . . . It is a source of deep satisfaction to be able to report that regardless of the obviously difficult field in which we were forced to operate, and the manifold opportunities which presented themselves for complications which, had they developed, would inevitably have bred embarrassment both for the Committee and for our Government, the Mexico Section was fortunate enough to conclude its labors without friction with any of the federal, state, or local authorities of the Republic. . . .

Approximately 4,433,000 words of our daily cable service were distributed to the Mexican newspapers during the eleven months of the existence of the Mexico Section. Mimeographed copies of the daily despatches were prepared and a total of 35,000 of them were distributed in the City of Mexico to business firms, which displayed them in show windows, to the foreign legations, to

Mexican government officials, and to individuals. Spanish translations of special articles prepared by the Foreign Press Bureau of the Committee in New York, and made suitable by careful editing and revision for the Mexican field and the limited space of the newspapers, were sent daily to the sixty-five newspapers and periodicals on our list. The record shows that nearly sixty per cent of this material was used. . . . To the newspapers also supplementary daily news letters (virtually a complete telegraphic service) were mailed, the total being 178,000. For the benefit of persons outside of Mexico who were interested in Mexican affairs it was deemed expedient, and within the functions of the Committee, to issue a weekly news bulletin in English. . . . Franking privileges were granted by the Mexican Government for both the news letter and the English bulletin. . . .

No one who watched the operation of the school and appreciated by observation the zest of the students to learn English and the sympathetic mental trend toward the United States inspired among them in the process could fail to regret that the classes might not have been continued permanently, and that some arrangement might not be made for extending on a larger scale throughout Mexico what the Committee accomplished in an experimental way in the Capital."

All the information concerning America distributed by the Committee, the good impressions made on Mexicans living in the United States during the Revolution but now returning to their homes, the idealism shown by us in the War, and

our actual demonstration of undreamed-of power, along with a new open-mindedness and a realization of the impossibility of isolated existence, which the World War has forced on Mexico as well as on the rest of the world—all these things have brought Mexico to a desire for friendship with the United States which is the most outstanding thing that a visitor to that country now notices.

I began to appreciate it immediately upon entering the Republic in February, 1919. At Monterrey I found the newspapers publishing editorials running something like this: "We must realize that Mexico needs to understand the United States. We must live as next-door neighbors to that country, whether we like it or not, so we must find out how we can live in a friendly way. We should not live back in 1847. Those days are past and we must face up to the problem of 1919."

A similar sentiment is expressed in the following significant editorial from the Mexico City daily, *El Excelsior*:

"As we view the matter, no more important statements have been made for several years than those of the Hon. Roberto V. Pesqueira in the toast which he pronounced at the banquet given by himself and Governor Mireles to the visiting American newspaper men on March 3rd. The influential position of Mr. Pesqueira as financial agent of the Mexican Government at El Paso and

the presence at the same time of men who have access to the influential papers in the United States, make the words which he uttered seem all the more weighty. Here is what he said: 'Mexico has no intention of closing her frontiers, as China once did, to keep out all foreigners. On the contrary, she is disposed to receive with open arms all who wish to come, provided they come in good faith. Nor does this country propose to make Article 27 of the revised Constitution retro-active in its effects; the rights acquired prior to the adoption of that document in 1917 are going to be rigidly respected'.

We have purposely waited several days before commenting to see if any correction or modification of these striking statements would follow. It struck us that there was a radical contrast between the sentiments of extreme jacobites and pseudo-socialists—whose one aim is the despoiling of the rich, the bourgeois, and the foreigners in the name of the revolutionary reprisals—and these sane suggestions as to the official purposes of our Government.

Landed proprietors, mine owners, corporations, oil men, manufacturers, the mass of our citizens and country people, natives as well as foreigners, can now breathe more easily. Henceforward they can devote themselves without uneasiness to the development of their interests—which are, at the same time, the interests of the country—resting secure in the rights which they have acquired. Immigration from abroad, both of work hands and of capital, lately so suspicious and shy of us, can now be set going again.

According to Messrs. Pesqueira and Cabrera, the Government cherishes no hatred of foreigners. Whatever of such hatred exists must find its home in this or that wayward heart or ill-balanced mind. No longer is suspended over capital and investments the Damocles sword of the retroactive quality of Article 27—or of any other, we venture to add. As a matter of fact, the ‘ultra-radicalism’ of Article 27, not to call it by a harsher, if more accurate term, originated in the suspicion which its very form implied that the intention of it was to make a clean sweep of all the past, in virtue of its retroactive application. On the other hand, if it is true, as the same Constitution lays down in Article 14, that neither this nor any other law can be made of retroactive effect, this terrible article ceases to be a matter of spoliation, violence, and injustice, and, as applied to future developments, may prove good, bad, or indifferent as the case may be. Certainly it will no longer be odious and ruinous, dissolvent of society itself, and disastrous even for the workingman.

Only by proper respect for rights duly acquired can changes be made in the control of properties, even when such changes are demanded in the interest of real progress. Progress must be made compatible with the stability of peoples.

We congratulate most sincerely these spokesmen and leaders of the revolutionary government for their excellent political judgment. Once these sentiments are carried into effect, and that without partiality or trickery but in good faith and real sincerity, they will have rendered an eminent service to their country.”

Similar expressions from the press, government officials, and the mass of the people, came to me as I traveled all through the Republic.

One of the primary purposes of my latest visit to Mexico was to investigate the question of establishing in Mexico City a great educational institution, backed by the people of the United States and combining the best educational principles, both of Mexico and of the United States, in practical effort to solve Mexico's problem. Various organizations and individuals have often talked of the need of such an institution. But one reason for its not being developed has been the fear that the plan might not be welcomed by the Mexican Government. Putting it squarely before the Government and people was one of the surest tests of their attitude toward the United States; and yet everywhere I presented the subject there was a hearty, unequivocal assurance of welcome for such an institution. I put the question directly to President Carranza and he assured me of his approval and his belief that the institution would do great good.

Here we are, then, after a hundred years of misunderstanding, for which both Mexicans and Americans have their full share of responsibility—and if I had been addressing this chapter to Mexicans I would have made their faults stand out much more prominently—ready to start upon a

new era of friendly relations. If both peoples will trust each other more fully, strive harder to understand each other's point of view when difficulties arise, and endeavor to be more helpful to each other, we can solve the question of the mutual relationships of these neighboring countries—the question which is undoubtedly one of the most difficult before both the United States and Mexico.

CHAPTER V

THE PRESENT SITUATION IN MEXICO

What are the actual conditions in Mexico today? In order to give the reader a general idea of this subject, I am describing in this chapter some of my experiences in a trip to the Republic in February and March of 1919. The style of travel notes is retained and the present tense refers to the two months just mentioned.

One finds things in Mexico very different from what he imagines them when feeding on New York papers. No very definite information seems available concerning trains in Mexico before one gets to the border. Rumor has it that there are no Pullmans, that trains run only every few days, that they are "shot up" every once in a while, and the like. But we found on arriving at Laredo at eight a. m. that we could have our passports viséed on the American side, take an automobile across the river, have baggage examined at least five different times by as many officials—including a fumigation, which meant only that a bulb of chemicals was squeezed at one's valises—and catch the train going south at eleven a. m. We made better time to Monterrey than I remember in all

the numerous times that I have covered this trip before, arriving at 4 p. m. There were a number of Americans on board, including the wives of two mining men living away down in Concepción del Oro, which is far removed from any center. Of course, the State Department would not give them passports, for it still insists on withholding these necessary documents from those who wish to go anywhere except a few of the large cities. This is rather a ludicrous procedure, however, as after one crosses the border, he has no more use for his passport and can go wherever he pleases.

Monterrey is not as much the "Chicago of Mexico" as it used to be before the Revolution. It has suffered a good deal, and there is marked limitation of business. Still, there is some building going on, and one notices few "for rent" signs. The large plant of the American Smelter and Refining Company is at work, and it employs a good many Americans. The steel plant and the smaller smelter are also in operation, as are the brewery and other manufacturing plants. Ten years ago there were some four thousand Americans in Monterrey. Now the average estimate is five hundred. The Foreign Club, which includes English and French, as well as American men, is a delightful little place, where one gets the gossip and meets the best element of the foreign colonies. The general opinion expressed concerning politics is that

Carranza will be able to serve out his term. There are certainly no leaders of strength opposing him at the present time. Several express the idea that he believed that Germany was going to win the War for some time, but now that he has seen his mistake, he is more ready to deal on friendly terms with Americans and with our Government than ever before. The two great needs mentioned everywhere are money and the bettering of the railroad situation. The rolling stock on the railroads is running down all the time, and very little is being done to repair the engines and cars. Freight cars were burned by the thousands during the Revolution, and it is almost impossible to get cars to move shipments. This has compelled many of the leading companies to own their own engines and cars. The Guggenheim smelter in Monterrey runs trains on practically all the railroads in Mexico. I am told they keep thirty or forty engines going continually. They have built up their shops to such an extent that they can practically rebuild an engine, and they are continually taking the old, worn-out engines and making them new.

I am told that the Government is having a very hard time paying its bills. Duties have been put up again recently, and every possible means of revenue is used to its limit. Nevertheless, the teachers in Mexico City have been threatening a strike because they have not been paid their

salaries for many weeks. In Monterrey the state and municipal governments seem to have been able to pay the salaries of the teachers and the public schools are in good condition. A current despatch from Mexico City says that 512 schools, the same number as last year, have just been opened. This means that more than fifty per cent. of the children of school age in the Federal District will not be able to find places in the schools. These 512 schools are classified as follows: elementary and grammar schools, 332; government night schools, 42; government kindergartens, 13; private primary schools, 72; private foreign schools, 45; private kindergartens, 8. Of the 332 elementary schools, 166 are in the capital and the same number are distributed among the municipalities. It is interesting to note, however, that this is a larger provision for primary education in the Federal District than was made in any year of the Diaz administration.

American firms in Monterrey are rejoicing over the fact that the embargo on merchandise has been removed by the United States, and great quantities of goods that have been held on the border for months are now rolling into the country, making business very prosperous. An American paper and printing house was found to be enlarging its ware-rooms, making space for practically \$100,000 worth of additional stock that is expected soon. "You

expect to do some business in spite of the Revolution," I said to the general agent. "We have never been closed all the time since the Revolution began," he replied. "We have always been open for business, and expect to be. The volume of our business today is larger than it was in the 'good old days' of eight or ten years ago."

The striking changes that several mentioned to me in Monterrey were that there is a great deal less drinking and that the demand for books is very much larger. These two things were not put together by those who mentioned them, but it is interesting to look at them at the same time. Most of the reading matter has been brought from Spain. One local bookdealer imports very often a bill of \$10,000 or \$15,000 worth of books from Spain. Germany formerly shipped a good many books into Mexico also, as the Germans were great translators. Most of the American books, such as James' "Talks to Teachers" and Emerson's "Essays," have been translated into Spanish by German firms. Now that the German exporters are not so active, there is a great opportunity for others to take their places. There is an increasing demand for American books. If the American publishers would enter this field they could find large business.

Apropos of the matter of reading, one of the most interesting things in Monterrey today is the

reading room on the main plaza, supported by the American and other foreign colonists. This was opened in order to give the public an opportunity to get the real facts concerning the War. The walls are lined with the most beautiful of the American and French posters. The tables are filled not simply with books of propaganda for the Allies, but with all kinds of good reading matter. Every time I passed the room it was crowded with readers. This is only one of the good things that the American colony has been carrying on during the War in order to keep pro-Ally sentiment dominant, and they have accomplished this purpose in a remarkable way. Monterrey has been overwhelmingly pro-Ally, in spite of the fact that the German colony numbers among it some of the most prominent business men in the city.

Though there are only a few American business men in Monterrey, they are active and wide-awake and an American chamber of commerce is in process of organization there. A little American school is well supported and makes living conditions a good deal more satisfactory. The Young Men's Christian Association, the Laurens Institute, and the Christian Institute, all sustained by American organizations, are doing splendid work. The first named has been greatly handicapped by its lack of a building, and hopes to be able soon to begin the erection of an adequate

plant. "The Young Men's Christian Association is the best American propaganda that we can possibly have in this country," said a business man. "We ought to have two here, however, one for the city branch, and the other out by the railroad as an industrial branch."

Business is developing along many lines. The representatives of Henry Ford, who is expecting to establish two or three plants for the manufacture of tractors in Mexican cities, have recently visited Monterrey, and it is hoped that one plant will be located there. An excursion of Texas business men is due to arrive in a very short while. This excursion will take in the main cities of Mexico. There is a considerable movement on now among the different commercial bodies to develop an export business, shipping more of Mexico's products to other parts of the world. The brewing interests here figure that they should capture a good deal of the trade of Central and South America with the closing of the breweries in the United States. There are also indications that the breweries in the United States are expecting to ship large amounts of their machinery to Mexico and continue business here.

One meets with many bright young Mexicans who have just come from the United States. One of a group of them with whom I talked had visited nearly all of our cities, including San Antonio,

St. Louis, Chicago, New York, and many of the manufacturing centers of New England. He said he had gone very much prejudiced against the United States, but what he had seen, not only of the power in the industrial life of the country, but also of the remarkable patriotism shown during the War, had made him return to Mexico as one who would give his time to propagating ideas of friendship between the two countries. The others spoke along the same lines. They spoke of the great good that could be done by scholarships for Mexicans to study in American institutions. This would be one of the best ways to build up an understanding between the two countries. All of the young men said that they were greatly prejudiced against the United States before they visited there. They talked very frankly about the weaknesses of the Latin races—their unwillingness to save, their lack of respect for women, their desire to “show off” and to appear better than they are. They gave historical reasons for these things, and felt that if they could know the United States better, they could the more easily overcome these defects.

The editorials in the papers are more friendly than I have ever seen them in Mexico before. One appeared in a Monterrey paper, reciting the reasons why Mexicans were prejudiced against the United States, but saying that there is no use in denying that the United States is the greatest

country in the world, and that the sooner Mexico begins to study her institutions, to find out the cause of her greatness, and to imitate her in certain respects, the better it will be for the nation.

Saltillo is a beautiful little city seventy miles south of Monterrey, up in the mountains. It is often called by its friends the Athens of Mexico. One feels the atmosphere of culture probably more here than in any other Mexican city. While it has a population of only 35,000 people, it has furnished many of the citizens who have become prominent in the life of the Republic. Saltillo naturally reminds one of President Carranza. I often talked with him in the State House concerning educational problems while he was serving as governor. In those days he referred several times to the fact that President Madero was insisting upon his taking a place in his cabinet, but he said that he had consistently refused because of his desire to work out the problems of taxation and education in his own state. I have never been able to understand how some people have maintained that Carranza was plotting a rebellion against Madero, for there was certainly no evidence of it in those days. He retained his loyalty to his chief up until the death of the latter. When Madero was succeeded by Huerta, Carranza was the first governor of a Mexican state to denounce the usurpation of power and he gathered together

at Saltillo the first part of his army in opposition to Huerta's anti-constitutional act, thus originating the name of Carranza's party as the "Constitutionalists."

Walking along the streets of Saltillo, I met three young men who used to be classmates at the People's Institute in Piedras Negras. They were standing in front of a moving picture theater, and two of them explained that they were proprietors of the show. They invited me in to see the American film that was being shown, explaining that they had recently taken charge of the theater and were showing all American films. They had entirely renovated the theater and taken the galleries down, making only one big floor. One reason why they did this was to emphasize the democracy which should prevail among the people. These young fellows were working in the railroad shops when they were in the People's Institute. They had gotten their ideas of progress from the night classes and debating club there and were now carrying them out in practical life. Introducing American films and having the audience sit in democratic fashion all on the same floor was their Latin idealistic way of introducing Americanism, in which they were firm believers. The other young man, who had been a student in the Institute, asked me to go to the hotel and see the line of samples that he was carrying for a wholesale

house in the United States. He showed me his order book, containing several thousand dollars' worth of orders which he had sold during the two days that he had been in the city. I noticed so many dozen pairs of shoes at seven, eight, ten dollars a pair; so many hats, ranging from three-fifty to ten dollars each. He said that he was having a very large business in every town where he showed his samples, for people were anxious for American goods. The duties were included in the prices quoted, so that the merchants would know exactly how much their goods would cost them laid down.

Saltillo has always been a liberal city and Americans have felt at home there. Fortunately some of them, like the lamented Consul Silliman, have been known far and wide for their honorable character and their friendly interest in the Mexican people.

San Luis Potosi is the next city of importance south of Saltillo. It is about as near the geographical center of Mexico as one can get. This may indicate why it is what one might call a "middle of the road" town—that is to say, it neither shows very much American influence, as does the city of Monterrey, nor is it preponderantly Indian as are Zacatecas and Guanajuato. The streets are beautifully paved and plazas are everywhere. The city possesses a most attractive

market, one of the finest theaters in the republic, which would do credit to any American city, innumerable Catholic churches—a few of them rare gems of architecture—and modern sewer and water systems.

The first impression of the traveler here, as in other cities visited, after having read so much about chaotic conditions, is one of surprise that the world is moving along with so little disturbance. The old American resident naturally misses the large American colony. Still, there are some Americans who have stayed through the entire Revolution. How have they been treated? Except in rare cases, the only bad treatment reported by those who have been here continually was received, as already stated, from the Huerta forces at the time the United States took Vera Cruz. The various revolutionary leaders, from Carranza down, have generally treated the Americans well, except when they have forced loans from them and in other ways replenished their depleted treasuries. Many of the "generals" who have commanded the revolutionary armies are far from being what they should be. There is an American grocer in San Luis Potosi, who has been in business here for some twenty years. He came as a mere boy, with a very small capital, and for many years increased his capital at a very rapid rate. He said, however, that he was figuring up

the other day and found out that he was just where he was seven years ago. In 1917, when conditions were more disturbed here than at any other time, the revolutionary leaders took from him altogether 56,000 pesos. He had either to pay these exorbitant demands or have the store taken away from him. He has also lost about 2,200 head of cattle from his ranch, which he owns as a result of the growth of his business in Mexico.

Another interesting American, who has been in San Luis for more than thirty years, is a lady whose husband was born and reared in Persia, being the nephew of one of the Shahs of Persia. While his father was governor of one of the provinces, he was assassinated. The children were compelled to leave Persia, so came to the United States. When one of them was lost, the brother now living here came to the border of Mexico seeking him. He did not find his brother, but met Juarez, who at that time was defending the country against Maximilian, and the young Persian joined Juarez's army. Later he went back to the United States, married a Tennessee girl and returned to Mexico. One would hardly find a more beautifully appointed home in New York than these people have here in San Luis. It is marvelous to be shown around their home and see their wonderful collection of china and Mexican paint-

ings, and to realize that none of these have been ever threatened during the years of revolution. I say it is marvelous—it doesn't seem so after one is there, but I am sure the story will sound strange in New York.

The Americans who have remained in Mexico throughout the Revolution are the ones who now seem to have the most hope for the country. Small property owners and salaried men generally recognize that the present authorities are making a little headway against tremendous odds, and believe that conditions will continue gradually to improve. They recognize as the worst element in the situation the graft in the lesser government officials, and especially among the numerous "generals" of the Army, who are often arbitrary and cruel in their dealings with the people. They are willing to admit that it has probably been impossible for President Carranza to weed out this unsatisfactory element because of the possibility of their turning against him, in which case he would lose more ground than he would gain. One merchant, who has suffered a good deal from the demands for special contributions to maintain the Army, said: "These demands seem very hard and unjust, yet one can not think, when it is a question of life and death with the Government, that he can expect to escape paying his share toward the maintenance of the Army."

Some of the oil men, however, do not seem to share in this philosophical view of things. One of them said: "I think it was a mistake for a representative of the oil interests to go to the Peace Conference to decide questions concerning Mexico. It would be unfortunate for the Peace Conference to take up the Mexican question." When I asked him why, he replied: "Because of President Wilson's influence there. What we want is to wait until 1920 and then the oil men, under a new President, will demand and secure justice from Mexico." He said that Americans were less liked in Mexico now than they had ever been before. When I told him that this was quite different from what other Americans and Mexicans had said to me, he seemed greatly surprised. He admitted, however, that he had not been outside of the Tampico district.

The oil question here is followed with the keenest interest by both Mexicans and Americans. The sending of a representative of the oil interests to the Peace Conference is sharply resented by the Mexicans. Some reference to it appears in almost every paper. *El Universal* of Mexico City every week devotes a solid page to a discussion by a lawyer of the legal questions involved in the oil problem. His conclusion is that legally the nation has a right to declare the subsoil products national property, but he recognizes that the advisability of doing so at present as regards oil is another

question. Every Mexican I have talked with, including Ambassador Bonillas, insists that Mexico has no intention whatever of confiscating any property. The oil men are naturally not content with any such general assurances.

The American consul in San Luis, who has served in many parts of the world, including South America, and who left Germany only a little while before war was declared, speaks in the highest terms of the lower class Mexican. Last year he viséed the passports of over 2,000 Mexican workmen who were going to the United States to live. They were a fine class of people. All of them had sufficient money to pay their fare to their destination in the United States, and would make good citizens of that country. He says he never dealt with a more kindly and sincere people. Most of these emigrants have kinsfolk in the United States. They come from various states to the south, San Luis being the first American consulate they find. This is only one indication of the fact that this is the gathering place for people from the most densely populated parts of Mexico. Whereas the city had a population of about 80,000 at the beginning of the Revolution, it is estimated that there are at least 125,000 here at the present time, the increase consisting chiefly of people from the country round about who sought safety in the city.

The smelter operated by the American Metals Company has been reopened now for several months, though it is not running at full force yet. The San Pedro and several other mines near here are being worked. The prospect is that others that have been closed for some time will be opened.

The Governor of the state is one of the bright young men with a modern viewpoint, inexperienced, but with the best purposes, who are today so often found at the head of state governments in Mexico. He was educated in the Anglo-American College in Aguascalientes as a boy and learned there to speak English. He has made one extensive trip through the United States.

Asked as to whether the majority of people in San Luis were pro-Ally or pro-German, he said, "Me and my friends are all Allies." He intimated that the German sentiment had been quite strong in San Luis. He told of the large English company which owns the sulphur mines near here—probably the largest sulphur mines in Mexico—and had been selling its product to the German Government for many years, not knowing to what use it was to be put. A German company had recently slipped into one of these mines which an English company had abandoned several years ago, and is now working next door to the large English company and causing them a deal of trouble. It

was a bad oversight on the part of the American manager to allow this, and the firm was put on the United States blacklist for a while because of it.

The Governor was of the opinion that the Mexican Government in the past has been quite the opposite of what it ought to be. The people have expected the Government to do everything, when really it should be considered a servant of the people and encourage them to do things for themselves. For this reason he favored the development of private schools, which would put the burden on the parents of the children themselves, making them pay for the things they get and thereby bringing about an appreciation of the schools. Now the Government opens the schools, pays for the books and all material, and then has to compel the people to send their children. This is not the fact, he thinks, with those who have learned the value of education, but with the very poor who little appreciate the need of schooling.

Some hundred and fifty miles due west from San Luis is the city of Aguascalientes. It is known as a health resort, and people come here from all parts of the country, especially for the fine baths. True to its name, great streams of hot water are found running through the city streets. Aguascalientes is also a great industrial center. The largest railroad shops in the country are here, as is also one of the largest smelters of the Guggenheim

interests. Neither of these institutions is working at full capacity at the time of this visit, however. On account of the lowering of the price of copper, the smelter is running with a very much reduced force. The railroad shops are crammed full of old engines that have been more or less wrecked during the Revolution. These are not being repaired with anything like the rapidity that they should be.

The ordinary population of Aguascalientes is about 55,000, but because of the difficult financial situation through which the city has passed for the last several years, it is probable that there are not so many people there now. The stores, however, have a splendid assortment of goods, and there are fewer beggars than in San Luis. The American consul here, like the one in San Luis, reports Mexican migration to the United States to work on the railroads and in the mines. The consul received word a little while before the armistice was declared that the railroads in the southern part of the United States could easily use 50,000 Mexicans as track workers. Now that the War is over, however, the demand for Mexican workmen is not likely to be nearly so great. As long as they can make \$3.50 a day as track workers, and \$6.00 or \$8.00 a day in semi-skilled lines, they will probably continue to enter the United States. A large number of them go for only a short time and then return to their homes.

This is one of the most thickly populated districts in Mexico. Around the railroad station and shops the Americans, who formerly had charge of the railroad, have built a beautiful colony, all of the buildings being of brick architecture. Out beyond the colony are the famous hot water baths, which are approached by a beautiful drive lined with some very handsome homes. While this part of the city gives evidence of neglect at the present time, no doubt in the next few years, as the world comes—as it must come—to seek the riches of Mexico, this will be one of the finest suburbs in any Mexican city. As we walked along this beautiful avenue we saw a strange sight for Mexico—young Mexican lads on very fine ponies, playing polo. Certainly there is hope for the country when these young fellows, without any foreigner leading them, are taking up such games. How many revolutions the country would have been saved, if in the past young Mexicans had learned to be good losers by being reared on the competitive games, such as baseball and football, which play such a large part in the education of the Anglo-Saxon youth!

One who has known this region for many years and was sent in the fall of 1918 to make a report of conditions to his organization says:

“In the whole northern district I have noted a decided if not remarkable improvement over conditions obtaining last year. The railroad service

is not improved and one is subject to great delay and inconvenience in getting from place to place. The danger from bandits and the losses caused by incursions of armed bands have decreased. I have noted a much larger extent of land under cultivation. There are fewer beggars and starved-looking people at the stations. In Fresnillo, in Concepcion, and in San Luis Potosi, mining operations and the treatment of ores by the cyanide and smelting processes were carried out on a more extensive scale, thus furnishing employment to a larger number of people."

Zacatecas is the state immediately north of Aguascalientes, and its capital city, like most state capitals in Mexico, bears the name of the state. Zacatecas is one of the states that have suffered most from the Revolution. Mining being the principal industry and it having been almost impossible to get ore to the market, workmen have had little to do, and the economic conditions are the worst seen in the Republic. The city of Zacatecas, which used to have a population of 35,000 or more, now probably has not many more than half that number. It was here that one of the hardest-fought battles of the Revolution took place, when Villa took the city from the Federalists. A high hill called "La Bufa" dominates the city, towering something like 1,500 feet immediately above it. The revolutionists placed their cannon on that

high spot and poured fire into the city for several days. Many effects of the battle can be seen at the present time.

Zacatecas is one of the most picturesque cities in the whole world. The approach to it is made by many winding passes through the mountains. The city seems to be now on one side and now on the other side of the train. A little mule car is at the station awaiting the passengers. Here there are no coaches or automobiles for hire. All of the passengers, with their baggage, pile into the little mule car and ride to the city, a mile and a half away. The hotels are delighted to see a foreigner or two, and the whole city—especially the numerous beggars—seems to be thrown into commotion, for there are very few travelers who have business in Zacatecas these days.

The one live, progressive thing we found about the city was the Governor. He is a young fellow, scarcely past thirty, a native of Zacatecas, who volunteered as a common soldier in the revolutionary army, and has worked himself up through the various grades of service, having fought all the way from Sonora to Yucatan. Some of the citizens reported that he is quite a Socialist and a good friend to the laboring men. When I called upon him and intimated that I was interested in closer relations between Mexico and the United States, he received me most enthusiastically. An account

of his having placed two thousand families on their own land during the last year was given in Chapter II.

The outstanding experience in my visit to Mexico City, during the trip in the spring of 1919 which this chapter describes, was an interview with President Carranza in the National Palace. We discussed principally the relations between the United States and Mexico and the improving situation in Mexico itself. The President I found much preoccupied with what seems to him to be a concerted action on the part of the press in the United States to give the impression that Americans are not liked or wanted in Mexico. I sat down immediately after the interview and wrote out the following, which I believe is very close to a literal translation of what the President said, and which his friends to whom I showed it, agreed as representing him:

"You have now been in the Republic, traveling in all parts of the country. You have lived in Mexico for many years, and know our people. Have you seen in your visit indication that Americans are treated any differently from any other people, that they are persecuted in any way, that they are not received with cordiality by government officials as well as by the people generally? We deeply appreciate what many Americans—business men, missionaries, tourists—are doing to inform the people of the United

States concerning the actual conditions in Mexico. But notwithstanding the efforts of these few, on the other hand there seems to be an organized propaganda in the United States to depreciate the Mexican Government and the Mexican people, by making Americans think that their fellow-citizens are ill-treated in Mexico and that they are not wanted here at all.

As you have traveled around, no doubt you find a great difference between conditions here now and two years ago, when you last visited us. You see the improved economic conditions. You see less evidence of military rule. You see new life developing everywhere. Go to our theaters—they are full. Go to our moving picture shows—you can hardly find a seat. Look at the automobile taxi service, one of the finest to be found anywhere, with hundreds of new machines serving the public. Prices are not exorbitant. Our schools are opening and functioning. Some of the best minds Mexico has produced, both young men and those who have been connected with education for many years, are giving themselves to solving our difficult educational problems. Trains are running on all lines. Crops are more universally planted this year than for a long time. Now these are the things we would like the people in the United States to know. We do not want any fulsome praise, we do not want any one to shut his eyes to the fact that all our problems are not yet solved. We do not ask favors. We simply ask that the truth in fairness be known.

Of course, there are bands which plunder in different parts of the country; there are assassins

and robbers whom we have not yet been able to catch. We are not able to set a policeman to follow every individual in the Republic. But what country, after long years of war, has not found itself in these conditions! When the United States had a large Indian population, did they not murder your people on the frontiers? After the Civil War, were your trains not blown up and robbed? Did you not have bandits who lived in rough country for years, breaking out here and there, robbing and killing, without the authorities being able to catch them?

Have you been to Tampico yet? That is the center, it seems to me, of most of the misunderstanding between the United States and Mexico. We are trying to do everything in our power to give protection to the Americans in that district, but we find some of them entirely unwilling to cooperate with us. There are certain organizations which have given contributions to the bandit Pelaez, which enable him to carry on his nefarious business. The complaints have been that the bandits attack paymasters—and, of course, we know that that is actually true. So the Government gave orders that no paymasters should be sent out without having an official army escort. There have been many cases, however, when these escorts have been refused and the bandits notified when the paymasters would pass certain places, in order that they might be assaulted and their money taken, thus giving aid to the bandits without appearing to do so.

We need all possible help from every one interested in fair play and international friendship to

solve this delicate problem. There is no real reason of which I know for our two peoples not getting along together. Of course, the problems are great, but they are not insurmountable if we will work honestly together for their solution."

The President was kind enough to go into further detail and to allow me all the time I wished to explain the state of public opinion in the United States toward Mexico. I assured him that simply because there were a number of articles against Mexico appearing in the North American press, practically all of which are quoted in the daily papers in Mexico City, it is not a foregone conclusion that these articles represent the general feeling in our country; that the people of the United States have learned to read the newspapers, and they do not by any means believe all that the newspapers report. He seemed gratified to be assured that the great majority of the American people have nothing but the kindest feelings toward Mexico and an earnest desire to help their neighbor in an unselfish way in its great problem of reconstruction.

I find the President the same quiet, unostentatious, earnest democrat whom I had known years ago in Coahuila. In fact, it seems to me that he has left off some of his sternness and has become more mellowed and sympathetic, with the heavy responsibilities he is carrying. He is looking more

rested, and is carrying more flesh than at any other time I have seen him since he took up the fight against Huerta.

Before my own interview I presented, by previous arrangement, the secretaries of some ten missionary boards in the United States, who are now in Mexico City attending a conference of Christian workers, where a large, comprehensive program is being developed for the establishment of colleges, normal schools, agricultural and mechanical schools, social settlements, hospitals, and churches in practically every part of the Republic. The president of the conference explained to President Carranza that the conference is being held to study how the program of the American missionary societies might be enlarged and made more efficient, emphasizing the fact that none of them has any interest in Mexico except the desire to be helpful to a neighboring people.

The President said that he greatly appreciated the privilege of speaking to this delegation, representing some 15,000,000 members of Christian churches in North America and assured them that now, as always, he believed in the efficacy of the American missionary work in Mexico. He was delighted with the educational program which had been outlined to him, and he felt sure that there was no reason why it should not be carried out with the sympathy of the Government and the

help of the people. As for the agricultural schools, they could do great good in helping to solve the land problem, but he recommended that they have rather short courses, not too technical or far removed from the people, and return the students to the land as soon as possible.

He said he appreciated the fact that the missionaries had done all in their power to befriend Mexico, and to spread the right impressions of this country in the United States, and he hoped that when this company returned to the United States it would do what it could to let the people know that there is no prejudice or ill feeling toward the American people, that the Government and Mexican people are as friendly to them as to any other foreigners, and that the country is developing slowly but surely. "We do not want you to say anything that you do not feel, or represent conditions differently from what you have found them, but those of you who visited the country two years ago can see the great improvements, and we would like this fact to be known in your country."

Before any such suggestion had come from the President, the conference had adopted the following resolution, which represents the feeling not only of the Americans visiting the country, but also the missionaries resident there.

"The Conference of Christian Workers meeting in the City of Mexico, February 17-22, 1919,

wishes to express its deep gratitude for the cordial way in which it has been received by all the people and for the fact that improved conditions and the open-mindedness of the people permit Christian work to be carried on in all parts of the Republic, with protection and welcome for the workers.

The twenty delegates from the United States, before arriving at the Capital, have visited their work in all sections of the country, the routes of some being through Nogales, Sonora, Sinaloa, and Guadalajara, others through El Paso, Chihuahua, Zacatecas, and Aguascalientes, others through Laredo, Monterrey, and Saltillo, others through Matamoros, Victoria, Tampico, and San Luis Potosi, and others through Vera Cruz, Jalapa, and Puebla. Such travel has been attended with no untoward incident whatever, and with a far greater degree of comfort than was anticipated.

Many encouraging evidences were found of the fact that the country is slowly but surely returning to normal conditions, socially, economically, and politically. While some outlying districts are still greatly disturbed, practically all the centers exhibit stable conditions.

We recognize keenly the many difficulties against which the Government is working in restoring the country to a normal life, and register our hearty sympathy with the Mexican people in their earnest struggle toward real democracy.

We pledge ourselves to do all within our power to promote a closer friendship and clearer understanding between the two neighboring republics, both by making known in the United States the real developments and deep aspirations we have

found among the Mexican people, and by encouraging in every possible way the increase of those institutions and movements which are set to aid Mexico in her struggle toward a new life."

While waiting in the ante-room to see the President, I was greatly impressed by the difference between the great throng around the National Palace which I saw today and that which I watched as I spent hours in the Palace two years ago. Then it was a very "Bolshevik" company. Most of them were "generals," wearing sadly faded uniforms and many queer costumes, and there were many common soldiers, some of whom I think even wore the white trousers and sandals which are the costume of the pure Indian. But today the crowd was very different, showing a pleasing degree of culture. It was encouraging, on shaking hands with two of my old friends, who I had heard were "generals," to have them say to me that they had retired from the army and were now cultivating land in Sonora.

One day in Mexico City was spent with the educators. I was invited to address the assembly of the National Preparatory School at eight o'clock in the morning. This school has an enrolment at present of about 700, a small number of whom are young women. The courses are similar to those in our high schools and would include probably the first two years of our college course. Graduates of

this school are ready to enter the professional schools of law, medicine, and engineering. Professor Moisés Sáenz is the Director. He was educated in Washington and Jefferson University, and was superintendent of the public schools for several years in Guanajuato. He had invited several other American educators to be present at the assembly the morning of my visit. As there had been some feeling against foreigners manifested in the school, we thought it very unwise for all of us to appear on the platform, but he insisted, and said that the spirit of the school had changed to such an extent that any number of Americans would be welcome.

I spoke of the new day in the educational, political, and social world. When I used as an illustration of how small the world was growing, the fact that President Wilson went across the seas to attend the Peace Conference, returned to the United States for a few days and then went back to Paris, breaking all national precedents, the 700 students broke forth in enthusiastic cheers, which lasted for a remarkably long time. This was spoken of by all who had known the spirit of the school in the past as a remarkable demonstration of the new life that has recently been developed in the school under the direction of its American-trained principal.

When this young man with North American educational ideals took charge of the school two years ago, there was practically a spirit of anarchy. The pupils would rise up in class and tell the professor to leave the room, saying that he knew nothing about the subject he was teaching. It was impossible to have any kind of an assembly. The students would not attend, even if it was made obligatory. On the morning to which I refer, however, every student enrolled in the entire institution was present, although the attendance of only the first year pupils was required. I have never seen a finer sight than those 700 bright young people, arranged in the magnificent amphitheater of one of the finest school buildings in the Republic. There were several recitations and musical numbers, one of which was given by the grandson of the celebrated Mexican poet, Juan de Dios Peza. When the Director proposed that the students sent their greetings by us to the students in other parts of America they arose *en masse* and cheered the suggestion to the echo, lending emphasis to it by singing the beautiful Mexican anthem, in which the young women rendered the verse and all the 700 voices united in a mighty chorus.

After the exercises they assembled in the patio, where I took their photograph. This seemed to please them and they surrounded me, so that it was with great difficulty that I was able to make

my way back to the Director's office. They had evidently caught the holiday spirit and, regarding me as their friend, began shouting the request that I should ask the Director for "*un día*," a day of vacation.

Following this visit, I attended the thirty-second anniversary of the founding of the normal school of Mexico City. This took the form of a great banquet in the corridors of their magnificent building, which was attended by about 600 educators and public school teachers. I had the privilege of sitting within the inner circle at the speakers' table, where were present Professor Eliseo García, Director-General of Public Education, Lic. José Natividad Macías, Rector of the National University, Professor Alfonso Herrera, Secretary of Instruction of Mexico City, Sr. Miguel Torner and Dr. Luis Coyula, Commissioners of Public Instruction of the municipal government, Professor Moisés Sáenz, Director of the National Preparatory School, Arturo Pichardo, Emilio Bustamente, Francisco Santoyo, Diputado Alberto Romero, Daniel Alavés, Sóstenes Chapa, and other leading educators.

After a bountiful meal, which was interspersed with beautiful music from a military band and many interruptions by multitudinous photographers, different speakers, without seeming to follow any formal program, arose spontaneously to give

their ideas on education. One orator pessimistically deprecated the fact that education in Mexico had so far accomplished so little, and called for a new program. He was followed by another, whose principal theme was that the Mexican teachers must take Christ for their ideal, both as a teacher and as one who suffered for great principles. A third regretted the fact that a previous speaker had spoken disparagingly of the past, and advocated the union of all teachers for the great work they had before them. A fourth speaker cited the remarkable development of a league between the teachers and the labor unions in Mexico City during the last few months. He was followed by a fiery young orator from a labor union, who said that this was the first banquet he had ever attended, the first time that his hard hands had ever been able to strike in friendly salute the soft, pliable hand of the teacher. He went on to say that the laboring classes were awakening, that they were anxious to learn, that they were realizing how much of the great world beyond has escaped their notice, and were anxious to form an alliance with the teachers and make their influence felt along with those who possess intellectual power, in order that the new life of the nation might be kept steady in its contribution to the development of the whole people.

The Director-General of public instruction closed the program with a beautiful appeal to all present to work together enthusiastically, in spite of the tremendous financial difficulties with which they are confronted. When the Government had little money to buy for them their needed equipment, when all kinds of difficulties were facing them, he said, they must continue faithful to their task of education, which would prove to be the salvation of the nation.

In private conversation, various teachers indicated to me the great difficulties they are having in their schools because of the fact that the Government does not have the money to support them. The National Preparatory School has been endeavoring to put in a physical department, and has tried in many ways to get an athletic field, but it has been impossible so far because there was no money to finance it. And so it is with practically every department in all of the schools. It is sad to see such a splendid, consecrated corps of young men and young women, who impress one as having the real missionary spirit, deprived of the financial support so necessary for the accomplishment of their work. Nothing could possibly be more encouraging than a day spent with these earnest men and women who, in spite of small salaries received often weeks and months behind time, in spite of political vicissitudes and uncer-

tainties of position, are giving themselves so unreservedly to the problem of education.

Athletics are coming to be a recognized part of the educational program. All acquainted with Latin-American schools know that in the past the physical departments have been conspicuous by their absence. The Young Men's Christian Association has recently been requested to organize athletics in some of the Mexico City institutions, and such activities have become contagious in many of the schools of the Republic. Last fall there was a great athletic meet in Mexico City, in which more than 200 athletes took part, with all of the college cheers, rooting, singing, and enthusiasm that one would find at such a meet in the United States. The schools of Saltillo are preparing a similar meet, and arrangements are being made for a carload of representatives from the National Preparatory School to attend, as will also representatives from schools in Monterrey, Torreón, Tampico, Durango, and other cities.

The teachers are concerned about the question of textbooks. One bookstore in Mexico City has practically dominated the whole textbook question. Formerly a special committee appointed by the National Advisory Committee on Education passed on textbooks and the Government itself would give an order for as many thousands or hundreds of thousands of textbooks as were

needed. Recently, however, various districts have been left to select their own textbooks. As much of the educational system is under the influence of teachers who have been educated in the United States, they are now using a great many of the textbooks to which they became accustomed in their student life. The firm which has had the monopoly of business for a long time has become very much exercised over the fact that American textbooks are being brought in. It even presented a petition to the last Congress, in an endeavor to have the professors discharged because they had departed from the customary patronage of that house. No attention, however, was paid to the petition. When the firm was forced to carry certain American textbooks, it charged about three times the legitimate price, so that an American book which was sold by the Mexican firm for \$6.50 (pesos) was afterward ordered in quantity and sold by the director of one of the schools to the pupils for \$2.25 (pesos). There is a splendid opportunity for the publishers of American textbooks, not only in Spanish but in English, to enter the market in Mexico at the present time. The Government does not have the funds to buy the books, generally, so it is a question of convincing the individual directors of schools of the serviceability of the textbooks. There is a great need for the opening of an American bookstore in Mexico,

where our best English literature can be secured along with the books American firms are increasingly publishing in Spanish. Of course such a store should carry also a well-assorted stock of the best Spanish literature, published in Spain and in other parts of the Spanish-speaking world.

Life in Mexico City, as in practically all the state capitals, was going along about as usual in the spring of 1919. In some cities it is more lively, as the population has been swelled by additions from the country districts, made unsafe by the Revolution. Business is generally good. A large American printing supply house sold during a recent six weeks in Mexico City fifteen linotypes and eight large self-feeding presses. That is simply one illustration of the way that business is going along.

Pavlowa, the dancer, was at about the same time having a run in the city. When the largest theater in the city proved too small for the crowd, she resorted to the bull ring! This great modern coliseum holds 20,000 people and in the old days was filled every Sunday afternoon with devotees of the ancient Spanish sport. But Carranza does not allow bull fights in the Federal District, though some states still have them, as the question is left to each state to decide. And so grand opera and other high-priced attractions take advantage of the great out-door auditorium and Mexico's magnifi-

cent climate, and play to the biggest audiences. That people pay from one to five pesos apiece many times during the theater season to see high-class attractions is only one illustration of how business is proceeding in the capital.

A fellow-visitor¹ reports the following typical replies to questions concerning the business outlook:

"An American shopkeeper: 'I have done more business within the last two months than at any corresponding period of the last six years'.

A Mexican official: 'Conditions are steadily improving, but I believe that you will find very little ostentatious display of wealth. The working people and the middle classes are better off, and there is more money in circulation than we have had in a long time. These mean that we are beginning to get results. Wealth is being more evenly distributed and the contrasts between extreme luxury and dire poverty are less striking than in many years'.

A Spanish hotel proprietor: 'We would be glad to give you a room and bath, especially if you expect to be here for some time, but at present we are full up. A group of American visitors has engaged in advance every available room, and we can do nothing for you until they depart. It seems like

¹ L. J. du Bekker in the *New York Tribune*.

old times to have so many tourists from the north'.

A Canadian banker: 'Conditions are easier than they have been for some time. The return of prosperity involves the return of confidence, and I can not say that this is complete, but I think we all feel a sense of relief when we compare banking conditions today with those we have gone through'.

An American importer: 'A complete understanding with the United States is the one thing essential to the commercial and industrial development of Mexico. When that has been arrived at, you may expect a boom in all lines. Until then, we will do the best we can, but the uncertainty of the past has been a most serious drawback'."

Living expenses are less in Mexico than in the United States. Meals at the best restaurants—and they are refined places, with music, excellent cooking, and variety—are from two to five pesos. Accommodations in the best hotels are becoming difficult to secure on account of the increasing number of visitors to the city. A large number of automobiles have been recently imported, the Government having removed the duty for a limited time to encourage this, and the taxi service is so cheap that one is tempted to spend his time riding. There are generally twenty to thirty big seven-passenger cars at the stand in front of the new National Theater, and they can be had for three pesos an hour. This magnificent

theater, one of the last extravagances planned by the Diaz administration, is beginning to receive attention by the Government and will be finished in a couple of years. It is of white marble in a beautiful setting at one end of the Alamenda Park, and will be beyond all question the most magnificent theater in the world.

This unfinished theater and the various other uncompleted government buildings begun by Diaz remind one of the story of the special envoy from China, who, along with envoys from all the rest of the countries of the globe, came to pay tribute to Diaz at the centennial celebration. This celebration was the most magnificent and costly ever arranged on the American continent. It was only one month later, however, that the Revolution which overthrew Diaz broke out. The foreign visitors were practically all dazzled and profoundly impressed by the Diaz Government. The wise old Chinese, however, after being shown the many new buildings under construction, always with the explanation, "But you see it's not finished yet," was finally taken to see the President. "And what do you think of General Diaz?" he was asked. "He is the only thing I have seen in Mexico that is finished," he replied. If Diaz himself could only have realized that, and quit several years before, he might have gone down in history with the other greatest Americans—Bolívar, San Martín, Juarez,

Washington, and Lincoln. No one can today walk the streets of Mexico City—than which there is scarcely a more attractive city in the world, because of its wonderful mixture of things romantically historic and alluringly modern—without honoring, in spite of all his mistakes, that great man of iron who for practically thirty-six years gave Mexico peace and wonderful material prosperity.

Visitors to Mexico today will agree with the Chinese statesman that little he sees is finished. But he who studies closely will find that it is what the builder calls "the confusion of construction," the period when the materials are being unloaded, the foundations dug, and every man seems to be working independently of others. But presently the unified plan of the architect will take shape. The very confusion in Mexico today makes it a most interesting place to visit, and a still more interesting place in which to work, in the difficult task of erecting a building that will aid humanity, according to the plan which no doubt the great Architect of the nations has worked out for Mexico.

CHAPTER VI

FUTURE RELATIONS BETWEEN MEXICO AND THE UNITED STATES

Let us now sum up certain considerations which seem to be clear:

First: The Mexicans have not had a fair chance. They have been a dislocated, an exploited, a confused people, with scarcely any opportunity for education during the four centuries of their modern history.

Second: There has recently been a real social revolution in Mexico, and there can be no turning back. It is idle to suppose that a "strong" man even if he were able to grasp the power, could repeat the experience of Diaz. Those days have gone never to return.

Third: The young men of Mexico, many of them educated under American influences, are giving themselves to working out a new political and educational life for their country, and with neighborly help may be expected gradually to accomplish their task.

Fourth: The great problem before the Mexican people is the development of character, and to the

working out of this problem all of Mexico's friends are called to help.

These considerations make it evident that the United States should not wish to become responsible for the settlement of Mexico's difficulties. This is true not only because of the difficulty of our understanding the Mexican, but because it would be a larger job than we ought to undertake. The time for armed intervention has passed, if it has ever been. The excuse of the universal reign of chaos can not now be given. The expense in money and men would be tremendous. The World War has brought upon us responsibilities for many parts of the world. It has also raised new problems in our own country, which are going to demand the most careful attention. If we ourselves are to escape a bloody social revolution, such as is sweeping over Europe at the present time, we must use all of our resources and wisdom in the solution of our problems. Our problems of race, of immigration, and of color, were never more acute than today. We insisted on an amendment to the Covenant of the League of Nations which would not require us to accept a mandatory without our consent. A mandatory for Armenia or some of the other small nations, which are entirely desirous of our help, would be as child's play compared to our forcing a mandatory on the

15,000,000 Mexicans, who would unite as a man to oppose our intervention.

Among other responsibilities, intervention would mean assuming the job of educating some 5,000,000 Indians who have never even learned to speak the Spanish language, who live in the same savage state today as they did when Cortez first came to Mexico. Have we been so successful in dealing with our own small Indian population that we should desire to undertake this new problem, involving fifteen times as large a population? Have we been so successful in dealing with our own freed slaves, that we are ready to take on the responsibility for an almost equal number of Mexican peons, whose backwardness in many ways is much more marked than that of our own Negroes?

Von Moltke used to say that he had worked out three different plans for the invasion of England by the German Army, but that he had never been able to contrive a plan for getting his army back home again. It would be very easy for us to resolve on armed intervention in Mexico, but no one yet has ever been able to estimate either the initial cost in men and money of subduing the country, or the years of effort, the billions of dollars, the continual misunderstandings, and all the other items in the price that would have to be paid for the final completion of the job. For its completion would mean the honorable getting out of it, as well as the

getting into it. And let no one who does not wish to display his ignorance cite the example of Cuba, for the cases are absolutely different.

No, the American people do not want armed intervention. They have business of more importance before them.

Intervention in the affairs of another nation is, after all, a most delicate matter. The following words, which describe a very unsatisfactory attempt, might well come back to us in the future with overwhelming force. Leave out the names, and some years hence these words might fit the Mexican situation:

"The alienation of the Revolution from the western democracies and the deplorable subsequent blunder of military intervention were born of ignorance, presumption, and infirmity of purpose rather than of malevolence. The Revolution unloosed a conflict of social forces which foreign statesmanship, during its period of influence in the capital, proved itself incompetent to understand and control. Its policy was based on a misinterpretation of the psychology of the people, the economics and dynamics of the Revolution. The governments were represented in the country by men whose impoverished diplomatic training and narrow class associations disqualified them as completely as a French marquis of the eighteenth century was disqualified from discovering the motives and the realities of a massive popular movement. When they observed disquieting

symptoms of war-weariness, moral exhaustion, and political wilfulness on the part of the active revolutionists, they traced it either to German intrigue or to a temporary lethargy or perversity of the popular will. They never even admitted that the Revolution possessed an impulse, a logic, and a right of its own. They could suggest only one remedy for every dangerous symptom of revolutionary independence—the remedy of coercion. They welcomed the reactionary adventure (in Mexico, Huerta), because a military dictatorship which would not scruple to purge the country of its radical agitators was to them the beginning and the end of political wisdom, and while they were counseling the use of coercion they did not know that the power of exercising coercion had passed from the princes, the generals, and the barons to councils of the common people. As convinced of *Macht-Politik*, they occupied the absurd position of seeking to force a whole people, without anticipating the energy of their resistance.”

If the Mexican question can not be settled by armed intervention, neither can it be settled by diplomacy. The sooner we come to that realization the better. We might as well stop fooling ourselves with the fond hope that some morning we shall awaken to find the papers announcing that, by a shuffling of the political cards, the Mexican problem has been solved. It will never be solved by the signing of treaties, by the agreement of commissions on boundary questions, by the negotiations of loans and concessions, or by the

triumph of this or that political leader, either in Mexico or the United States. This is a question not of stopping a fight, but of solving a problem. It is not a revolution to be crushed, but an evolution to be guided.

And the evolution involves far more than a purely economic and educational problem, if by these are meant only a proper distribution of the land and a teaching of the people to read and write. Above all else, it is a question of character. It will do little good to distribute lands to the people who have no ambition to work those lands, or who are not sufficiently trained to protect their rights and exercise their duties as citizens. It is very easy to say, Let us give every man a piece of land, but the next question is, What he is going to do with that land? Men who have never had any wants except that of enough food to keep body and soul together, and of enough clothes to hide their nakedness, who have no aspirations in life, who know nothing of developing a home, who have never used any furniture, who care nothing for a book, can not be expected to do a great deal with the things that are given to them. Of course, the real Indian has a native instinct for the land, and would probably use his little plot at any time that he had the opportunity, but it is very much to be doubted whether the millions of peons who have come into contact with modern life and partaken

of modern vices, would be benefited by receiving a little plot of land, unless they were taught how to appreciate it.

In saying that diplomacy can never solve Mexico's problems, I am not ignoring the fact that relations between the United States and Mexico must be cordial if much progress is ever to be made in those things which will really bring that solution, for Mexico must depend upon the United States to a large extent to furnish the munitions of war in her campaign against ignorance, superstition, and selfishness. The path of our diplomatic intercourse and of doing away with misunderstandings between the two countries seems to be clear. Now, as never before, Mexico is willing to accept our friendship. In the past, a spirit of ultra-nationalism and suspicion and misunderstanding has kept her from a willingness to do this. As has already been pointed out, however, these things are passing rapidly. It seems to me, then, that our Government should back up the Carranza Government in a strong, consistent, continuous way, aiding it in securing necessary funds for rehabilitation, for larger educational development, for the pursuit of bandits, and for strengthening the general program which the Carranza Government has outlined for the great problem of reconstruction. It is not my purpose to go into an explanation of how this might be done. Our diplo-

mats understand this, however, very well. Fortunately, the American Ambassador in Mexico at the present time is a man who thoroughly comprehends the sensitive Latin-American character, and who is recognized by the Mexican people as sympathetic toward their legitimate aspirations. Our Government has recognized that Carranza offers the best hope for the bringing about of order and peace in Mexico. Our Government should, therefore, throw its full strength and influence toward supporting him. We, as a strong nation, can well afford to forget some of his weaknesses and ultra-nationalistic tendencies in the past, and frankly develop a program that will strengthen his hands.

If neither armed intervention nor diplomacy can permanently settle Mexico's problems, neither will education, the other remedy, most generally proposed, if by education is meant simply the elimination of illiteracy. The mere teaching of the people to read and write often has no more effect, as Señor Pani has recently pointed out in his investigation of primary education in Mexico, than to cause the lower classes to become dissatisfied with their lot.¹ There are others who think that vocational education is the thing needed. Foreign

¹ Alberto J. Pani, "*Un Encuesta sobre Educación Popular*." This is a most suggestive treatise on popular education, containing the opinions of many leading Mexicans on the education of the masses.

business men, who believe in the development of the natural resources of the country as the secret of solving her problems, are often, in connection with such development, willing to advance vocational training. Mr. Henry Ford has described in a recent number of *El Norte Americano* a most worthy effort to help the Mexicans by training their young men in his Detroit factory, in order to send them back to be foremen in the tractor factories which he proposes to establish. He puts the matter in the following way:

"The principal object in inviting the Mexican Government to send us a hundred young men of the different social classes who desired to educate themselves in our methods of work and ideals of life, was to give a practical effect to the promise of President Wilson, who offered the friendship of the American people to Mexico. Another object was to place the Mexicans in position to consider the Americans from a different viewpoint than that from which they have considered them heretofore, due to the fact that they have principally known them as exploiters. . . .

The Secretary of Agriculture for Mexico made the selection and demonstrated an admirable knowledge of the necessities of each class as also of each section of the country. The young men who have come to our factories represent all classes of Mexican society. They are employed at the regular rate of salary, the minimum of which is six dollars a day after three months' work.

In the matter of intelligence they equal the average American workman and show a great desire to work, which is the principal thing. During the teaching they are passed through the various departments of the factory to familiarize them with all the operations that enter into the manufacture of the machine. This gives them an admirable preparation for the work which they will do on their return to Mexico. For the benefit of those who do not know English we have established educational classes in the shops, which impart not only a knowledge of the English language but also certain American ideals."

Mr. Edward L. Doheny has recently contributed \$100,000 to establish a foundation to investigate the educational needs of Mexico, which evidently looks to the development of vocational education among the Mexican people.

This is all excellent, as far as it goes, but working for foreign business concerns will help only a few and in a material way. Nothing could be more unfortunate than to turn the Latin from the one extreme of idealism to the other of a crass materialism.

Education in Mexico must, first of all, look to character. This means, of course, that it will be closely bound up with a man's power to make a living, but not this only. It must also be bound up with the matter of citizenship and with an emphasis on the relationship of all the great past

to the present, and of the whole world to each nation and to each individual. The provincialism of a people, their narrow outlook, their suspicion of the world, their egotism concerning their own accomplishments, their impatience at slow results, can be overcome only by teaching them the great evolutionary processes through which the world has struggled up from the past, and its present interrelated and progressive development. The moral emphasis must, more and more, predominate in education. The words of Theodore Roosevelt to the Brazilians are most applicable to the Mexicans:

“Character must ever outrank genius and intellect. The State can not prosper unless the average man can take care of himself; and neither can it prosper unless the average man realizes that, in addition to taking care of himself, he must work with his fellows with good sense and honesty, and a practical acknowledgment of obligation to the community as a whole for the things that are vital to the interests of the community as a whole.”

One of the great difficulties that the Carranza Government is experiencing at the present time in bringing about order is the fact that they do not have enough honest men to fill the responsible positions. Many times, when a general is entrusted with an expedition against a group of bandits, instead of pursuing the campaign, he wastes his

time and resources in riotous living. It is very difficult to get a sufficient number of honest men to handle responsibilities. This is one thing that accounts for such a large number of young Protestants having been appointed to office in the Carranza Government. Having been educated by American teachers, they have had the matter of honesty drilled into them. One of these, a young officer, was appointed paymaster for one of the leading generals, who was going to Morelos to campaign against Zapata. After the young fellow had been there for some time he wanted to be sent to the front, but the general informed him that this would be impossible, for, since he was the only man he had ever found who carried his accounts absolutely straight, he must remain in the position.

The new education in Mexico must not only seek that ideal combination of the cultural and the vocational which is one of the most pressing educational problems of our day, but must unite with genuine patriotism a passion for universal brotherhood. Individualism is recognized by all Latin psychologists as being the most outstanding characteristic of their people. It has been the rock on which the bark of democratic government has most often wrecked itself. As José Marmol in his celebrated "Amalia," which tells the story of the

Argentine Dictator, Rosas, has one of his characters say:

"A party is not powerful through numbers but through union. Let us study carefully the political system of Rosas and we shall find the secret of his power to be in the disassociation of the citizens—a spirit of constitutional indolence, natural to the race, serves to complete the work of our moral disorganization and we meet, we talk, we agree today and tomorrow we separate, we betray each other, or at least we neglect to meet again. Without cooperation, without the spirit of cooperation, without the hope of being able to improvise that lever of European power and European progress called cooperation, on what can we count for the work we propose to accomplish?"

To which the hero, with the young enthusiasm of hope, replies: "Yes, cooperation today to defend ourselves against Rosas; cooperation tomorrow to organize the society of our country; cooperation in politics to give her liberty and law; cooperation in commerce, in industry, in literature, and in science to give her learning and progress; cooperation in religion to cultivate the morality and the virtues, which we lack.

Would you have a country, would you have liberty, would you have free institutions? Unite against the enemy of our social reformation—

ignorance; against the instigator of our savage passions—political fanaticism; against the propagator of our disunion, of our vices, of our raucorous passions, of our vain and stubborn spirit—religious skepticism!"

As a part and parcel of this spirit of unity, which Mexican educators pointed out to me in recent investigations as so necessary to inculcate, they emphasize also the spirit of service. Only those who have a real desire to serve the common good will be willing to sink individualistic desires for the accomplishment of a common purpose. Or in other words, only as one is willing to hang for a cause, will he be willing to hang together with others. Service, then, must be another strong emphasis in the educational program which will lead Mexico into the new life.

The success of an experiment with which I am familiar, carried out along these lines, though on a small scale, demonstrates the readiness of the Mexican to respond to such educational opportunities. Finding that, in the border town of Piedras Negras where I was living, there was no place for young men to assemble in the evenings, no school above the sixth grade, no literary societies, lecture courses, public library, or anything in fact to develop the cultural side of the people, we decided to open a little reading room in the corner room of our residence. We did not know

whether anyone would care at all to take advantage of the few papers that we were able to secure, but the first week the room was opened it was crowded by young men from the offices, stores, and banks. Only a very few days had passed before they began to ask for English classes, which were soon opened in another little room in the rear.

Later, a debating club was organized at about the time that the semi-annual gambling fair was being held. At such times a gambling concern brought all kinds of paraphernalia to the city and placed these on the main plaza, and the whole city gave itself up to gambling, bull fights, and worse things, for some six weeks. We proposed a discussion of the question as to whether or not these gambling fairs were good things for the city. After the objection that such discussion would mean a dangerous criticism of the Government was overcome, the debates were held and proved very lively. There had never been any question raised concerning the fair before. The argument was that it was bound to be a good thing because, even after all the graft that the government officials had secured, there was still left from the amount paid by the firms for the concessions about \$10,000 (pesos), which last year had been given toward the building of a new school. The debates aroused unusual interest. The little reading room was entirely too small. The young men said, "We have

never heard of such arguments as are being brought out here, against what we have considered established institutions. All of the people ought to hear these discussions. We must have a large hall, so that these important matters shall get to the ears of the public in general."

The Superintendent of Public Instruction and the Director were asked to wait on the municipal president, to secure from him the municipal theater. After a good deal of persuasion he gave his consent. "Well, Señor Presidente, if we are to have a large meeting in the theater, then you yourself should preside at these discussions of questions of community interest." Very well, he would preside. "Then, Señor Presidente, if you are to preside, the occasion will be very important and we ought to have the municipal band." All right, we should have the band. As we were leaving the office, the Superintendent of Public Instruction suggested to me that we should have asked to have the prisoners go round and clean out the theater. So we returned and made that request. By this time he was so accustomed to grant what we asked that there was no difficulty whatever. On Sunday morning the municipal band paraded the streets in the same manner that they would have done to advertise a bull fight. Our little company of debaters, along with the *Presidente* and about ten other of the most prominent citizens, met at the

reading room and marched in a body to the theater. The house was packed and for two hours and a half the young men presented to the public the arguments against gambling and vice. The program was so interesting that it was repeated the following Sunday and for several weeks afterward these *conferencias morales* were continued. One result was the appointment of a committee to wait on the Governor, and to request the prohibition of gambling concessions, a petition which was granted during the Governor's term of office.

The movement grew to such an extent that it was necessary to erect a building for its activities. A prominent corner was secured through the kindness of a leading citizen, the Commercial Club and many individuals on both sides of the border contributed to the building fund, and the next year the building was dedicated as part of the official celebration of the Centennial in 1910. A procession was formed at the municipal palace, which consisted of a military band, an escort of soldiers, members of the City Council, the special delegate sent by the Governor of the state, and deputations from the various mutual societies and labor organizations. On arriving at the Institute, the Director presented the key to the Mayor, who opened the building and dedicated it "to the service of humanity."

A program was developed, consisting of lectures on all kinds of interesting topics, night classes, reading room, circulating library, outdoor gymnasium, social meetings, and every activity that would seem to be helpful at this particular time in the life of the community. A little while afterward, when the Madero Government came into power and Mexico was suddenly called to take part in the election of her own officials, the young men who had been trained in the debating clubs of the People's Institute were the ones who immediately came forward as leaders of the new political life.

The following extract from an article in the Bulletin of the Pan-American Union describes further the work of the Institute:

"The People's Institute is unique among Mexican institutions. It combines the work of the social settlement, the public library, the Charities Organization Society, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, and all the other benevolent, educational, and reform organizations of the ordinary American city. The Institute has stood steadily for the community idea, by developing the individual into an efficient worker and wage-earner, and by translating the ideals of morality and good government into terms of practical good citizenship. Cruelty and barbarism are distressing and undesirable in the abstract; why not in the bull fight in one's own city? This turning of abstractions into practical morality of the now

and here has been the great aim of the People's Institute.

Thus far the active emphasis has been placed on the educational and civic points of view. The public schools of the average town stop with the sixth grade. Only state capitals have normal schools, which correspond to the American high schools. On the first four week nights the Institute has classes in fifteen subjects, including Spanish and English shorthand, typewriting, arithmetic, geometry, English language, Spanish language, Spanish grammar, ethics, hygiene, and gymnasium. One hundred young men and women were enrolled in these classes in the last term. During the public school vacations the school children have club meetings on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday afternoons, when lessons in sewing and music and games and readings are given. Each night, between classes, there is a public conference, at which current events, morals, philosophy, or history are briefly discussed. Friday evenings are given over to games or to a program, which may be musical or literary, or deal with some subject of popular interest. Many of the highest government officials, both state and national, educators, scientists, and travelers, have appeared on the Institute platform. Heated discussions are held by the Debating Club, which, like the Temperance Society and the Humane Society, is composed of and led by the young men and women of the city. The national holidays of both the United States and Mexico are always celebrated. One important work of the Institute has been to interpret the two nations on the Rio Grande to each other, and this

is easiest when patriotism directs the thoughts and sentiments to the common love of heroes and of liberty.

One most encouraging fact the library records of the Institute have shown—namely, that the Mexican likes good literature. Books on history, science, and philosophy are much more popular than fiction. Among the translations from English, Emerson and Spencer are seldom on the shelves, while popular fiction grows dusty from disuse. Translations of Emerson and Tolstoy are more in demand than Cervantes or the modern Spanish novelists.

To encourage the men to stay at home evenings, the library has opened a circulating department, which loans games to families. . . .

The art of home-making, which is just beginning to be introduced into the public schools of the United States, must needs be taught the Mexican girl, as well as her Anglo-Saxon sister. Like her mother and great-grandmother, she is used to doing things for herself. The department store does not exist in Mexico to sell her what her ingenious and skilful fingers can make so surprisingly well. In fact, all she needs to be developed into an ideal home-maker is the chance to see the better class Mexican and American home. Natural family affection she has to a marked degree; the power to make and imitate she owes to her Latin blood—she merely needs the inspiration of example, and the merest pittance of money to realize ambitions that will eventually make Mexico more a land of homes than her neighbor to the north has been since colonial days.

Public baths, moving pictures, classes in domestic art and science, and a printing press, are soon to be installed. The press is the first actual venture in industrial education, although geometry is taught to apprentices in boiler-making, with special regard to its application in that industry, the teacher being the head of the boiler-making department in the railroad shops. A very great need of Mexico is the development of skilled labor, and as each demand and need of the community presents itself, the People's Institute strives to meet it, for it is an institution of the community, for the community, and by the community."

Perhaps the best test of the success of such an experiment is the appeal which it has made to individuals. For example, a prominent lawyer of Mexico City who was appointed Federal Judge, with headquarters at Piedras Negras, found himself quite lonely in our modest, little city, after having moved in the best circles of the capital of the Republic. When invited to cooperate in the work of the People's Institute, he readily accepted and soon became so interested that he gave practically all his time outside of office hours to it, teaching a class in commercial law, giving lectures, and using the influence of his position to interest others in the work.

Another gentleman, who is known widely in our country as well as in Mexico as one of the greatest living authorities on dry farming, Señor

Zeferino Domínguez, has given unstinted time to the People's Institute, delivering lectures, and having apparatus installed to demonstrate the proper selection of seed corn and other subjects which have interested greatly the agriculturists of the community. Señor Dominguez believes that the Mexican problem is not a political but an economic and social one. He believes that the Mexican people will be quiet and industrious when they are given land to cultivate and shown how to do it in the right way, and he recognized in the People's Institute an organization that would go far in preparing the people for economic independence.

More or less similar stories could be told of such men as Señor J. Kim Yuen, Chinese representative to settle the claims of his Government for the Torreon massacre; Professor Andres Osuna, one of the leading educators of the country; and governors and ex-governors of the Federal District, Yucatan, Sonora, and Sinaloa. Such men as these have been interested in helping the Institute because they saw that it was aiding their own people in a practical way. This was evident not only in the changed lives of certain young men, but in the part which the Institute came to play in the life of the community as a whole.

On a certain February twenty-second, Washington's Birthday, the political situation was dark indeed. It looked as if the whole country had

turned against the Madero Government. A meeting was called at the Institute, to which were invited all the government officials and prominent citizens, and a part of Washington's farewell address was read, which we had translated for the occasion, and which seemed to have been written especially to advise the Mexicans in their national crisis. The necessity of standing by the constituted Government, the cost of ignoring authority, the necessity of allowing time for reforms to be carried out, were emphasized. A committee was organized to conduct conferences in the theater on the same subject. In two weeks such meetings were being held all over the Republic, and the Government was saved, at least temporarily. Of course, that meeting did not do it all, but there is no doubt that it had its influence.

On September 16, 1911, when a mob raged up the principal street, stoning the houses of foreigners, it passed the Institute without any demonstration whatever and, returning to the monument in front of the property, listened to incendiary speeches, without even a reference to the foreigners who conducted the People's Institute. The Governor of the state, who came to the city the next day, said it was one of the most splendid tributes he ever saw paid to a work of like character. At a celebration of the anniversary of the enactment of the reform laws, a national holiday, all of the

orators of the occasion were People's Institute men, and the night meeting, contrary to all custom, was held at the Institute building, with the Mayor presiding.

At the close of the Madero revolution, as already stated, the people were a good deal at a loss when they suddenly discovered that they were to elect their own officials, for the way to organize a political party and to carry on an election campaign was entirely foreign to their experience. We considered it a privilege, when they sought our help, to give it to them. In fact, we loaned them our auditorium for their meetings, and it was there that the reform mayor, who did so much for the city, was nominated. The statement was made by a high Mexican official that there was not a man who had taken part in the new political life in that part of Mexico who had not gotten his training in the debating society and night classes of the Institute.

This experiment in a small way shows how the Mexicans would welcome a program of practical education linked up with nationalistic aspirations.

Considerable interest in a school of higher learning for Mexico, which would be financed by the friends of that country in the United States, was aroused a few years ago, by a committee headed by President Charles W. Dabney of the University of Cincinnati. The committee's activities were

allowed to stop on account of the War, but the idea has been taken up again recently and has met with the warmest approval of prominent Mexicans, both educators and government officials. It is proposed that the managing board shall be an independent body composed of both Mexicans and Americans, with sections in the City of Mexico and in New York. The sum of \$5,000,000 has been named as the amount that should be available for an adequate launching of the enterprise. It is not to duplicate any of the work done by the existing Government University or its allied schools, but to follow lines of practical instruction.

During recent extended conference with Mexican educators as to the lines this school should pursue, the following words of Professor Ezequiel Chávez, one of the outstanding leaders, seemed to express the general idea:

"Our whole national life has been one immense factory to manufacture the governing classes. The foreigners have controlled our commercial life, operated our mines, our railroads, our stores, our factories. The Mexican has not been willing to risk either capital or his own convenience in commercial enterprises. Since the foreigner has carried on all of our economic life, what is there left to the Mexican to do? Why, simply to govern. And so our schools have prepared men for governing. We need more and different kinds of training. Our people need to enter many other

lines instead of being simply shut up, as in the past, to becoming physicians, lawyers, and engineers. Our educational system must change so that it can direct the young people into fifteen professions instead of into three, and into twenty or thirty different modes of gaining their living and contributing to society. . . . The new school should turn itself to developing leaders in our economic and social life. I do not mean to make our education entirely practical, leaving out all of the humanities, as Germany has done. We must see that the school introduces young people into useful livelihood and trains them at the same time to be good citizens."

Carrying out this idea, it is proposed to have the institution begin in the City of Mexico, with a Normal Institute, and a Foundation School—using the term as it is understood in Berea College—which will prepare students either for entrance into the Normal Institute or to become skilled operatives in various trades. The details of this plan are given in full in Appendix I.

It is impossible to estimate the good that such an institution would accomplish in the establishment of a better understanding between the two neighboring peoples. From such a school would grow all kinds of movements that would contribute to the development of friendship. Commerce, labor, the fine arts, literature, social and moral movements, and other helpful forces in either

country could find through it easy contact with kindred circles in the other.

One matter that is evidently so far reaching that it should, by all means, be linked up with such an institution, is the exchange of students between the two countries. There is nothing that is more largely demanded or that offers a greater range of influence.

It is as clear as a bell that we must spend some time and money in the development of such institutions as this, which will get down below the motives of commerce and politics on which we have depended for a hundred years, if the two peoples are to live not only peaceably, but agreeably together as neighbors.

In discussing the problem of relations between Mexico and the United States, and the place of education in the same, there remains yet an important force to consider. There is a large body of American teachers in Mexico, who are connected with schools, some of which have been conducted for half a century. Generally speaking, these teachers are the Americans who have been longest in the country, have most completely mastered the language and identified themselves with the people, and most thoroughly enjoy the confidence of the Mexicans. These teachers have largely been supported by American missionary societies, and so far from being thought of as

exploiting the people, they have generally earned the reputation of rendering an unselfish service, without the aid of which the Mexican people would have fared a good deal worse than they have in educational matters. A large number of these schools have been for the training of teachers, and because of the large number of teachers which they have furnished the Government, the public school system has been able to grow at a much more rapid rate than that at which the system itself could produce teachers. The Government has practically always been ready to take every possible graduate these schools could turn over to it, and not infrequently it has subsidized the schools in order to speed up their production of teachers for the public service.

This might appear strange to some who think that these schools are conducted for purposes of sectarian propaganda. That this is distinctively not their purpose, but that they are carried on with a sincere desire to contribute to the real education of the Mexican people a development of character, a power of choice, and freedom of conscience, is shown by their universal popularity, even among those of a different faith.

The work of these American mission schools, which in the past the general public did not seem to regard as of much significance, has suddenly been shown to be one of the strong forces in the making

of a new Mexico. Tried in the crucible of one of the most hotly contested civil disturbances ever known, the Mexicans educated in these schools and partaking of the principles there imparted have suddenly been thrust to the top of this seething national life and compelled to take positions of responsibility. They are found from one end of the Republic to the other, as governors of states, assistants to cabinet ministers, representatives of the Government in foreign countries, legislators, directors of departments in national, state, and municipal education, mayors of cities, officers of the Army, not to mention the large number in more obscure but no less important places as individual teachers, both in the big centers and the small out-of-the-way hamlets.

A most daring educational program, that includes comprehensive plans, not only for a system of schools, but also for social, literary, and medical activities, has recently been worked out by this group of Americans. In 1914, when the Revolution had driven a large number of them to this country, a conference was held in Cincinnati to consider how the work could be enlarged and made more efficient, in order to render more immediate and widespread help to Mexico. Plans proposed at that conference were studied, tested, enlarged, and changed according to the best advice from the Mexicans themselves, until at a conference in

Mexico City in February, 1919, when both Americans and nationals spent several days together, the results of these years of study were drawn up in a comprehensive program.

When the survey of the whole situation was made, it was found that before any very much enlarged service could be given to the whole Mexican people, a more scientific arrangement of the work already in hand would have to take place. The survey showed, for example, that in one city of 35,000 there were three large normal schools, supported by as many separate American societies, with some eight American resident workers, whereas in another whole state with a population of 1,000,000, there was not a single American worker.

A radical readjustment was therefore agreed upon, so that each one of the eight societies involved would become responsible for a certain distinct territory. This involved the uprooting of long-established ties, turning over work to others, and in two cases the abandonment of all the territory formerly occupied and the taking up of work in an entirely new field. But, for the sake of the general good, in order that no part of the country might be neglected, the readjustments, though with many a heartache, have now been made. Each society knows for just how much territory, how many people, and what towns it is responsible.

With this fundamental basis which will eliminate all duplication, the following program for schools has been outlined:

Eight agricultural schools are to be opened in as many different parts of the Republic, so that the problems of the various conditions—highland, lowland, arid, and tropical—can be worked upon. For the industrial worker in communities, a series of trade schools is to be established in every state capital and in certain other large industrial centers. These trade schools are designed, not to teach the students foreign trades, but to help them to develop more highly and efficiently the arts of the local community. No one who has gone through Mexico with open eyes, even as a tourist, can have helped noting how extensively different communities have developed their specialties, Saltillo serapes, Aguascalientes drawn work, Cuernavaca pottery, Pueblo vases, and the like. Each Indian tribe also has its specialty in which it excels and generally makes with remarkable skill. Both the agricultural schools and the trade schools are to be *netamente nacional*—entirely national. The agricultural schools located among the Indians will give themselves not only to working on the land problem, but to manual training and preparation of rural teachers.

These American teachers, who have lived in Mexico long enough to become thoroughly adapted

to the life of the people, are desirous of contributing their part toward working out in practice the theories of cultural development which Sr. Manuel Gamio, Director of Ethnology in the Department of the Interior of the Mexican Government, has recently outlined in his book, "*Forjando Patria*." If space permitted it would be desirable to quote extensively from this admirable treatise, but I will only cite two passages:

"We propose concretely:

1. That an attempt be made to crush out or diminish the ridiculous exotic tendencies which make us unconditionally prefer industry of foreign character and disdain our own.

2. To encourage first of all the production of our typical industry, to the end that not only its consumption in the country may be increased, but the demand which has always existed for it outside may be supplied and augmented.

3. To apply the technical methods of the foreign industries to the similar typical industries and sensibly to bring about the fusion of the two, as was done spontaneously and so brilliantly during the colonial period.

4. To send our workers to foreign industrial centers, that they may incorporate foreign experience with their traditional industrial aptitudes.

5. To establish in foreign countries expositions of Mexican typical products and in Mexico expositions of new foreign industries unknown to us."²

² Page 262.

And again: "It is an error to expect that the same law shall apply to the Lacandon of Chiapas, who goes naked and lives by hunting and fishing in a wild tropical district, where no other idea of the nation is held than that constituted by his mountains, his women, and his children; to the frontiersman of the north, into whom have filtered and percolated the language, the idiom, the industry, the aptitudes of the American; to the inhabitant of the high tablelands, conservator of the traditions, the customs, and the religion of the past; to the dweller in the seaport, liberal and innovator; to the frontiersman of the south, whose culture is more Central American than Mexican; to the Indian in general, helpless and illiterate, who speaks a diversity of idioms, lives in unlike climates and differs in customs; to the man of culture, active, progressive in tendencies; to the individual of aristocratic lineage who has been educated (?) abroad and who, when he returns to his native hearth, displays a really repulsive hybridism in customs and ideas.

From this contest, there is born what may be called 'cultural cleavage'; a great part of this middle class, which feels more the environment in which it has developed and the historical antecedents which brought it near the native class, adopted an intermediate culture, which is neither the native nor the western. We cite some manifestations of this culture: the popular music, which Ponce in most noble effort exerted himself to make known, is not native music, nor is it European; it is something intermediate, the technique, the mechanical part, of which is occidental, but which

in character and sentiment strongly arouse the native soul. Our sculptors, who in Guadalajara, in Mexico, and in other places make little figures of clay and wax or typically decorated vases, are the true national sculptors, however much the public may, foolishly, consider this work as mere curious rubbish. The decorative designs which are used in the lacquer industry, pottery, textile fabrics, and a thousand other things, are the legitimate Mexican decorations; they were inspired by our sky, by our soil, by our plants, by our animals, even by the ancient polytheistic religious conceptions of the pre-Hispanic Indians. As much might be said of the literature, the architecture, and even of the very special character which religious ideas show in this class. The 'intermediate culture' originated immediately after the conquest, it being necessary, in order to understand perfectly what is here said, to examine among other manifestations the transitional artistic work of the sixteenth century. This 'intermediate culture', like that of the native class, has developed without principles, method, or facilities; it is natural that it presents frequent deficiencies and even deformities, like everything that has to flourish, conquering obstacles. It is, nevertheless, the national culture, that of the future, that which will end by imposing itself when the population, being ethnically homogeneous, feels and understands it. It should not be forgotten that it is the resultant of the European and the modified native, or pre-Hispanic."³

³ Page 175.

It will be one of the main purposes of these agricultural and trade schools to work out this problem of the blending of different cultures, in order to bring the Mexican into a place of high usefulness as a citizen of his own country and the world at large.

The second division of the educational program has to do with strengthening the already extensive work of the normal schools. Several new normal schools are to be built in districts which now have none, and the training of men teachers is to be provided for, since heretofore almost all these schools were for women only.

All of this school work is to be coordinated under one organization, with headquarters in Mexico City, and an outstanding Mexican educator, now occupying a prominent place in government education, has been called as the secretary of the organization. This is still another of the provisions, which are being made at every step in these enlarged plans, to make sure that all shall be absolutely national and in no sense an exotic plant.

The third division of the program is social. It has not escaped the observation of these Americans that the Mexican people in their efforts to develop a democracy have no way of getting together under pleasant auspices to discuss their problems. How much the United States owes to the town meetings, the chatauquas, the public

library extension work, the public debates, the forums, and the many civic associations, with and without buildings, whose business it is to foster discussion of public questions and to encourage organization for community improvement! So it is intended to organize in each town of importance a community center. This will not only be a rallying point for all who are interested in the country's development, but through night classes, circulating library, gymnasium, and other agencies it will especially contribute to the education of adults.

The fourth part of the program has to do with the popularizing of medical knowledge and sanitation among the poorer classes. This will be done by Mexican physicians, who have already worked on this program as much as their limited means would permit, through labor organizations, schools, and industrial plants. It is hoped also to erect a certain number of hospitals where these are most needed.

The fifth division refers to the production of good literature. The union of the various printing establishments already conducted by these organizations in different parts of the Republic has been consummated, and a publishing house and bookstore, with a weekly periodical, have been started in the City of Mexico. It is hoped to produce good literature, school textbooks, popular stories, and

other books that will help to relieve the situation spoken of by Sr. Gamio, who says:

“When on account of lack of books, more advanced reading than the primer and first reader is not possible, the knowledge of reading appears idle and unproductive. Nevertheless, for the majority of those who learn how to read there remains no other resource, because there are few who can secure a more extensive education or even have the opportunity of obtaining printed matter of any sort. To what is this fact due, which directly and indirectly contributes to maintain illiteracy? It is that in Mexico the pamphlet, the book, and publications generally, have always been costly and for that reason not adequate to the diversity of standards of the population. Provision has been made, though insufficiently, for the intellectual ‘élite’, who can pay for what they read, and for the city youth by supplying them with schoolbooks. But is not the rest of the population, the great mass which longs to gather knowledge through reading, worth attention?”

Such a program as this may not appear to some to be at all commensurate with the largeness of the problem involved, yet history teaches us that even from small beginnings, the right kind of movements develop rapidly until their influence is soon felt in every part of national life. If this program were faithfully carried out with enthusiasm, efficiency, and a free pouring out of life and wealth, the results would be very quickly seen—probably

a good deal more quickly than the results of armed intervention. If some thrifty individual who has been taught by our War Savings Stamp Campaign to count the pennies, thinks that this program involves too much of a financial expenditure, let him meditate on the following: The United States Government spent enough on guarding the border and the Pershing expedition into Mexico, during the year of the Columbus raid, to build in every town in Mexico of more than 4,000 people, a college, a community center, a hospital, and a church, and to equip them magnificently, and there would be left over a sufficient amount to endow the public school system of each of these towns with some \$700,000. There would still be left a tidy little sum of \$15,000,000 for other parts of the program of education and the production of good literature.

Our Mexican neighbors, if we will fully recognize their own national life and their peculiar culture, will be only too glad to accept the help of a friendly neighbor, and America is big enough to undertake this help in a really big way. As President Butler says:

"One of the earliest questions recorded in history is the petulant query of Cain, 'Am I my brother's keeper?' On the answer to this question all civilization depends. If a man is not his brother's

keeper, if he may slay and rob and ravage at will for his own advantage, whether that be personal or national, then civilization becomes quite impossible. We are our brothers' keepers and they are ours. . . . There remains the matter of what may be called petulant and teasing criticism, on the platform and in the press, of acts and policies of nations other than our own. A good many nations and peoples, have, in the history of the world, assumed for themselves an attitude of superiority toward their fellows, and have shaped their beliefs and practices accordingly. It will not be generally thought, I fancy, that the historic results of this course of conduct has been either fortunate or happy. . . . The United States has done so much to educate world opinion in the past century and a half that we may well be anxious for it to do still more. . . . The great movement in which we are engaged is a part and parcel of a new way of life. It means that we must enter with fulness of appreciation into the activities and interests of peoples other than ourselves; that we must emulate the best they have and shun the worst; that we must answer in no uncertain tones that we are our brothers' keepers; and that the path of justice, of integrity and fair dealings, as with men so with nations, is the true path of honor. Let us see to it that we Americans tread steadily in it."

We have just completed a great job across the waters. Our soldiers are coming back home. We are ready to turn our attention to something else still larger. We are searching for that elusive, but

tremendously important, thing called "the moral equivalent of war." Here is the finest opportunity ever presented to the American people. It is right at our door. What, then, are we going to do about Mexico?

APPENDIX I

Proposed Plan for a University to Be Established in Mexico (See page 227)

Training in the Foundation School

This school is designed to give students the fundamental courses as at present offered in the regular Mexican schools, but presented in a more practical fashion. It may be advisable to restrict the privileges of this school to students above fifteen and give them only such work in the fundamentals as they actually need. Perhaps the general standard for admission to this school should be the completion of the four years of the ordinary elementary primary course. In some cases students will not have this equipment and it should be given them in night courses while they pursue some definite manual work during the day. Perhaps the work of the two years of superior primary instruction might be carried on partly in the daytime, but the bulk of book instruction in the Foundation School, as in Berea College and Hampton Institute, should be at night, with the days given to manual work for which credit or compensation is given. All must do some work through all grades of the school—more in the lower grades.

Class Work

Fundamentals in language work, number work, history, geography, civics, nature study, physiology, elementary agriculture, with moral instruction, music, drawing, and other forms of simple artistic expression.

Credit should be given to students for such work as they have done in the public schools. Special pains should be taken to make this work of a practical character and to show its application to life.

Manual Work

1. Regular daily work for boys and girls in the shops, farms, and dormitories connected with the school. Products to be used in institution or sold, and credit given for work done.

2. Working for wages under direction in outside

shops or on farms, commercial establishments or homes, under supervision of school authorities. Dormitory facilities provided in school with payment by pupil from proceeds of work. Essential cooperation between school and working plants.

Most students who take this work will pass directly into industry, agriculture, or home work, but with definite training in some trade or occupation and an enlarged mental and moral outlook. Those who have the aptitude may pass immediately to the Normal Institute. To this others who have the requisite preparation may also be admitted. The Foundation School will have no fixed time limit, but deficient students may be separated from the others whenever it is deemed advisable. In time this work in the Foundation School may be given in regional schools and dropped at the central institution.

Training in the Normal Institute

The general purpose of the Institute is to train teachers for vocational work and to prepare skilled foremen and superintendents for shops and farms and social workers for the cities. The course should presuppose the ordinary work of the six years of primary instruction. If the student knows some trade, either from his work in the Foundation School or elsewhere, he might devote relatively more time to the cultural and vocational courses, but he should not be excused from all manual tasks. Because of the variation in time to be devoted to manual tasks, there should be no definite time limit for this course. It should be at least four years and might run to six or seven.

I. *Cultural Courses* (Few required—election according to proposed occupation.)

1. *Language: Literature Group*—Composition, Literature, English, French (?).

2. *Mathematics: Advanced Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry* with practical applications.

3. *Science Group*: General Science, Descriptive and Physical Geography, and one year in one or two of the following: Botany, Zoology, Geology, Physics, and Chemistry (the sciences to be differentiated according to trade pursued.)

4. *History: Social Group*, National History, European History, Civics, Economics, Survey of Human Progress and Relationships.

There should be some required work in each group with a choice of elections according to occupation preferred.

II. *Vocational Courses* (To be determined by proposed occupation.)

1. *Commercial*: Bookkeeping, Stenography and Typewriting, Commercial Geography, Business Methods, Business Law, Commercial Arithmetic, Penmanship.

2. *Mechanical*: Mechanical Drawing, Elementary Mechanics, Industrial Chemistry, Applied Physics.

3. *Agricultural*: Applied Mathematics (?) Soils and Crops, Horticulture, Animal Husbandry, Farm Mechanics and Management.

4. *Household Arts*: Clothing and Textiles, Foods and Nutrition, Home Arts, Nursing and Sanitation.

5. *Community Service*: Social Grouping, Public and Private Charities, Social Legislation.

Psychology, methods, and practice teaching should accompany the vocational courses.

III. *Manual Work* (In institution or outside on cooperative plan; amount to be lessened if student has already partly acquired standard training in given occupation. Psychology and methods should be considered along with this work.)

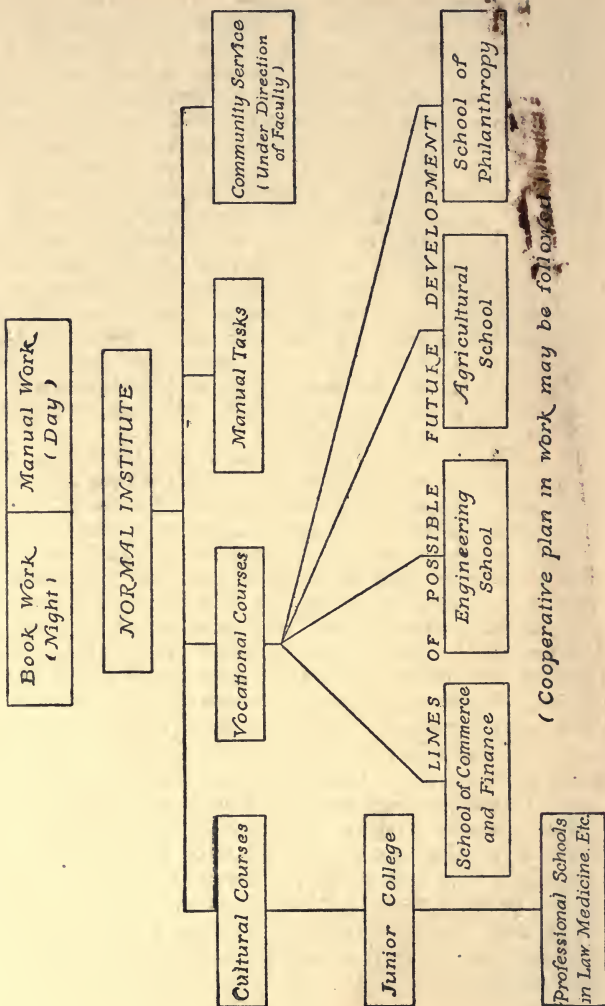
The following are some of the trades to be pursued in the Foundation School and in the Normal Institute: Bricklaying, Carpentry, Wheelwrighting, Masonry, Plumbing, Forging, and Blacksmithing. The object in the Foundation School should be the training of skilled workmen; in the Normal Institute the training of industrial and agricultural teachers or

shop foremen or superintendents. The Normal Institute should be the central plant of the institution, with such preliminary work in the Foundation School as is necessary to prepare the students for the Institute and such subsequent development of other facilities as circumstances may require.

Every one in the Normal Institute will be required, besides studying, to do practical work with his hand and his brains. Not only will there be practice schools where those studying to be teachers will be tried out under faculty supervision, but there will be social service carried on in the city under the direction of the faculty, training for leadership in such community work as clubs for boys and girls, public playgrounds, administration of charity, application of principles of sanitation, development of the use of public libraries, and the other problems which are recognized as a part of the modern city. The people of Mexico City are already awakening to these things, as is shown, for example, by such movements as the formation of a home for newsboys by public-spirited citizens. But trained leadership is lacking.

From such a department in the Normal Institute, there would naturally develop later on a full school of philanthropy and social sciences, which would train leaders for all kinds of community service, and maintain a bureau of social survey to furnish practical guidance to organization and even, if so desired, scientific data to the Government for purposes of legislative and executive action. In the same way, the study of commercial courses, worked out in practical cooperation with the business houses of the city, would grow into a school of business and finance, where the men would be trained for dealing with the complicated questions of modern finance, and where a department of research would be maintained to study questions that might be referred to it. And so on throughout the courses of the Normal Institute: As each department grew it would develop a special school—gardening into agriculture, manual arts into engineering, and courses in sanitation and nursing into a medical school, if such should seem desirable. The idea in the development of all these schools should be to do work that would not duplicate that already being done, and that would never force but would follow natural lines of growth as needs, circumstances, and national growth indicate.

FOUNDATION SCHOOL



(Cooperative plan in work may be followed)

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